

# TEXAS

**PATHWAYS OF HISTORY** 



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#### Dear Texas History Lover,

Texas has a special place in history and in the minds of people throughout the world. Texas also has the distinction of being the only state in the United States that was an independent country for almost ten years—free and separate—recognized as a sovereign government by the United States, France, and England.

For more than a century, the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) has played a leadership role in Texas history research and education and has helped to identify, collect, preserve, and tell the stories of Texas. It has now entered into a new collaboration with the University of Texas at Austin to carry on and expand its work. In the coming years these two organizations, with their partners and members, will create a collaborative whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. The collaboration will provide passion, talent, and long-term support for the dissemination of scholarly research, educational programs for the K-12 community, and opportunities for public discourse about the complex issues and personalities of our heritage.

TSHA's core programs include the *Texas Almanac*, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *Handbook of Texas Online*, TSHA Press, and education programs that reach out to students and teachers at all levels throughout the state. The central challenge before TSHA is to seize the unprecedented opportunities of the digital age in order to reshape how history will be accessed, understood, preserved, disseminated, and taught in the twenty-first century. In recent years, we have capitalized on these momentous opportunities to expand the scope and depth of our work in ways never before possible.

In the midst of this rapid change, TSHA will continue to provide a future for our heritage and to ensure that the lessons of our history continue to serve as a resource for the people of Texas. I encourage you to join us today as a member of TSHA, and in doing so, you will be part of a unique group of people dedicated to standing as vanguards of our proud Texas heritage and will help us continue to develop innovative programs that bring history to life.





Since 1987, TSHA has sought to spread the rich and unique history of Texas across not just the country but the world. As we celebrate the progress of the last 120 years, we look forward to bringing our state's past into your life through evershifting digital presences, the expansion of publications, and the growth of our immersive educational programs. With your membership, donations, and support, all these things are possible.

With Texas Pride,

Brian A. Bolinger

75- a. Tolinger

**CEO** 

Texas State Historical Association

Randolph "Mike" Campbell

Mike Campbell

Chief Historian

Texas State Historical Association



#### Dear Reader,

In the 1840s cattlemen in Texas began searching for profitable markets to sell Longhorn cattle, and by 1860 cattle outnumbered people by six times in the Lone Star State. The nationwide popularity of beef in the years following the Civil War created a market where cattle purchased for \$2 in Texas sold for \$20 in Kansas and nearly \$50 at meat packing plants on either coast. As a result, six to ten million cattle traveled northward along feeder trails throughout Texas towards Dodge City, Kansas, and created a wildly successful cattle industry.

From 1867 to 1889 the two most prominent cattle trails in Texas were the Western Trail, also known as the Fort Griffin-Dodge City Trail, and the Eastern Trail, also known as the Chisholm Trail. To confuse matters further, the Chisholm Trail has also been historically referred to as the Abilene, Caldwell, Cattle, Great Texas Cattle, Kansas, and McCoy's Trail. The Fort Worth Cattle Raisers Museum uses the term Eastern-Chisholm Trail, but Texas historians acknowledge that the name Eastern Trail does not resonate as loudly within American history or attract as much tourism as Chisholm Trail.

Cattle drives began in early spring and traveled at a pace of ten to twelve miles per day between watering holes. Larger herds required a dozen or more cowboys who worked as point men, swing men, flankers, and drag men, and the journey lasted three to four months. Jesse Chisholm was a Scotch-Cherokee fur trader who forged a route from Wichita, Kansas, to the North Canadian River. Joseph G. McCoy, and businessman and entrepreneur, extended the trail as far south as Brownsville, Texas. The Chisholm Trail became popularized in American history through songs, stories, mythical tales, radio, television, and movies. To this day, historians and enthusiasts debate various aspects of the Chisholm Trail's history, especially the route and name.





Cattle ranchers and historians of Oklahoma largely oppose the suggestion that the Chisholm Trail extended into Texas and instead assert that all trails south of the Red River were a combination of feeder trails established well before 1867. They insist that the Chisholm Trail extended from the northern side of the Red River to Abilene, Kansas. In Texas, accounts from cowboys in the 1870s and 1880s described the Chisholm Trail as running through Texas. In 1931 members of the Old Time Trail Drivers Association presented resolutions to the Texas legislature documenting that the Western Trail crossed the Red River at Doan's Crossing, while the Eastern or Chisholm Trail crossed at the Spanish Fort or Red River Station

In Oklahoma, retired drover P. P. Ackley raised \$1,000 for a historical marker at Doan's Crossing, but the inscription referenced the Longhorn-Chisholm Trail. This terminology led to disagreements between Ackley and George W. Saunders, president of the Old Time Trail Drivers Association. Texas historians and authors, including J. Frank Dobie, Wayne Gard, and Don Worcester, joined the Texas Historical Commission in their efforts to document the Chisholm Trail in Texas. Ackley funded additional markers along the route in Oklahoma and persuaded the Oklahoma legislature to designate Highway 34 as the Longhorn Chisholm Highway. Similarly, the Texas Historical Commission placed Chisholm Trail historical markers along the route from Fort Worth to Brownsville. Ultimately, in 1936 the inscription on Ackley's marker changed from Longhorn Chisholm Trail to the Western Texas-Kansas Trail.

Essentially, the name Chisholm Trail has been used in history, literature, film, and pop culture to describe a combination of feeder trails in Texas or represent cattle trails at large. Historians such as Dan Utley suggest that, with the Chisholm Trail controversy at an impasse, we should instead focus on the cultural impact of trails and cattle driving on Texas and the United States. The history of Texas trails spans from the Andalusian cattle brought by Spanish explorers in the early sixteenth century through the expansion of domesticated cattle herds at Spanish missions in the early eighteenth century and reached a peak during the historic cattle drives of the late nineteenth century. Ultimately the construction of new railroads, development of barbed wire, homestead laws, oversupply of Longhorns, and Texas Fever quarantines led to the decline of the cattle driving industry by the late 1880s.





The Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) is excited to celebrate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chisholm Trail by releasing our latest eBook, *Texas Trails: Early Pathways of History*. This eBook includes thirty-five entries from the *Handbook of Texas* and eight articles from the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* focused on cattle trailing, historic routes, longhorns, and notable cattlemen and cattle women. Many thanks to Professor Debbie Liles (University of North Texas), Megan Stanford, Joel Phillips, and the Handbook staff for assistance with compiling this eBook.

The following *Handbook* entries provide excellent scholarship on important topics such as cattle rustling, Texas Fever, vaqueros, and black cowboys, as well as biographies of José Vázquez Borrego, Rosa María Hinojosa de Ballí, Richard King, Bose Ikard, Cornelia Wadsworth Adair, Charles Goodnight, and many others. I encourage you to visit <a href="www.TSHAonline.org/books">www.TSHAonline.org/books</a> to browse our collection of TSHA eBooks. We hope you enjoy reading *Texas Trails: Early Pathways of History* and learn more about the fascinating history of Texas.

Sincerely,

Brett J. Derbes

Bratt Duly

Managing Editor - Handbook of Texas

Texas State Historical Association



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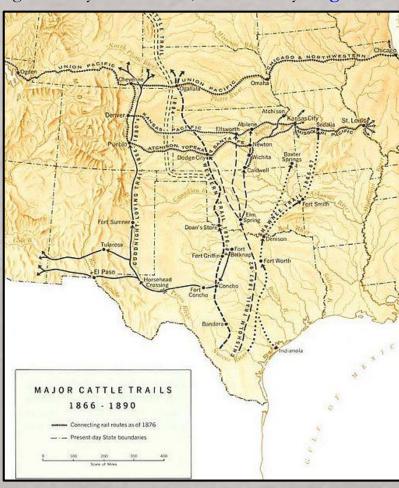
By James G. Bell and J. Evetts Haley



# Cattle Trailing Jimmy M. Skaggs

Cattle trailing was the principal method of getting cattle to market in the late nineteenth century. It provided Texans with a practical, economical means of marketing surplus livestock. It also achieved mythological stature as an aspect of the American frontier. Although their heyday was from 1866 to 1890, organized livestock drives to market in the United States date to the seventeenth century, especially in the Carolinas, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. Easterners, however, often afoot and aided by shepherd dogs, herded relatively tame animals, whereas Texas drives during the nineteenth century usually featured mounted riders tending decidedly wilder beasts, at first mostly <u>longhorn</u>

cattle and usually mavericks. As early as the 1830s, opportunists drove surplus Texas cattle from Stephen F. Austin's colony eastward through treacherous swamp country to New Orleans, where animals fetched twice their Texas market value. After statehood, during the 1840s and 1850s, some cattlemen drove Texas cattle northward over the Shawnee Trail to Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, and Ohio, where they were sold mostly to farmers who fattened them for local slaughter markets. The first recorded large cattle drive occurred in 1846, when Edward Piper herded 1,000 head from Texas to Ohio. Outbreaks of "Texas fever" during the mid-1850s caused both Missouri and Kansas



Map of Texas Cattle Trails. Courtesy of the National Park Service.



legislatures to quarantine their states against "southern cattle." The gold rush to California created substantial demand for slaughter beeves, and during the early to mid-1850s some adventurous Texans herded steers westward through rugged mountains and deserts to West. Coast mining camps, where animals worth fourteen dollars in Texas marketed for \$100 or more. During the Civil War some Texans drove cattle to New Orleans, where they were sold, but, mostly, animals were



Cattle Hands Herding Cattle. Courtesy of the Amon Carter Museum of American Art and the Library of Congress.

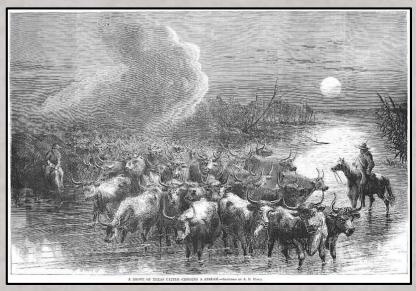
left untended at home, where they multiplied.

At the war's end, Texas possessed between three million and six million head of cattle, many of them wild unbranded mavericks worth locally as little as two dollars each. However, the same beasts were potentially far more valuable elsewhere, especially in the North, which had been largely denuded of its livestock by wartime demand and where longhorns commanded forty dollars or more a head. As early as 1865 a few Texans reportedly tested export markets by trailing cattle to Mexico and Louisiana, but most cattlemen waited until the spring of 1866 to mount large trail drives, especially to the North. That year Texans drove more than 260,000 cattle to assorted markets. Some went eastward to Louisiana, where many animals were shipped by boat to Cairo, Illinois, and St. Louis, Missouri. In search of possible sales among Rocky Mountain miners, veteran cattleman Oliver Loving and his young partner Charles Goodnight that year drove a herd of cattle westward through dangerous Indian country to New Mexico and sold them profitably at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, and at Denver, thereby inaugurating the famed Goodnight-Loving Trail. Yet the vast majority of Texans who drove cattle to market in 1866 apparently followed the familiar and safer Shawnee Trail through Indian Territory either to Kansas City or to Sedalia, Missouri, both of which possessed railroad facilities for transshipment eastward, especially to meatpackers at Chicago. While many drovers found profitable markets and sold cattle for as much as sixty dollars a head, others encountered armed, hostile farmers, especially in Missouri, where new outbreaks of Texas fever engendered much anger. Therefore, many cattlemen reportedly resolved not to drive



cattle northward again. A number of states, including Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky, either barred or severely restricted the trailing of Texas cattle across their borders. The restrictions included fines up to \$1,000, and in some areas herds were either impounded or killed.

Postwar cattle trailing might have ended had not Illinois cattle buyer Joseph G. McCoy established a marketplace away from settled areas. Selecting Abilene, Kansas,

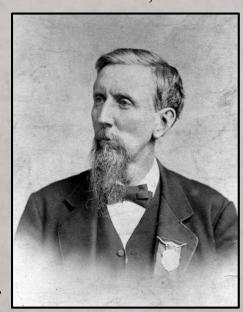


A Texas Cattle Drive in 1860s. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County.

near the center of the mostly uninhabited Great Plains—then a veritable sea of grass—McCoy enticed Kansas Pacific Railroad executives to provide sidings and other facilities and even to pay him a commission on each carload of cattle it shipped from Abilene. He also persuaded Kansas officials not to enforce the state's quarantine law at Abilene in order to attract trail herds; he later successfully lobbied the Illinois legislature to revise its restrictions to allow entry of Texas cattle that had been "wintered" in Kansas,

documentation of which soon accompanied every shipment eastward. McCoy advertised his facilities with handbills and by word of mouth, attracting drovers and an estimated 35,000 head of cattle in 1867. Thereafter, until closed to southern cattle by renewed quarantine in 1873, Abilene, Kansas, was the principal railhead-market for Texas cattle. The most important cow path from Texas to Abilene was the <a href="Chisholm Trail">Chisholm Trail</a>. Between the Civil War and 1873 more than 1.5 million Texas cattle were driven over it to Abilene, as well as to Wichita and Ellsworth, rival Kansas cattle towns along the trail.

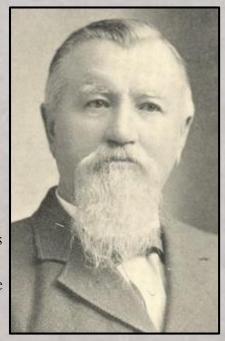
This enormous traffic gave rise to contract drovers, who, for a fee (usually \$1 to \$1.50 per head) walked Texas animals to market for their owners, large and small cattle raisers alike who mostly remained at home, tending their



Joseph G. McCoy. Courtesy of the Kansas Historical Society.



breeding stock. Railroad connections with northern and eastern markets, available in Texas after 1873, did not immediately diminish trail traffic because freight rates were two to three times more expensive than drovers' fees. Numerous Texans, mostly young former Confederates, became contract drovers. The most active of these was probably John T. Lytle, who, in association with at least three partners between 1871 and 1886, delivered about a half million head of cattle to Kansas markets. Also important were John R. and William B. Blocker, George W. Littlefield, Ike (Isaac Thomas) Pryor, Moses Coggin, Eugene B. Millett, Charles Goodnight, William H. Jennings, and numerous others, most of whom also became substantial ranchers. In addition to contract deliveries, they often included their own livestock on drives, as well as animals they bought cheaply in Texas and drove to market for speculation. However, most of their profits derived



John T. Lytle.

from volume and efficient use of manpower. All told, contract drovers accounted for as much as 90 percent of total trail traffic between 1866 and 1890, the rest being moved by those who had actually raised the animals.

A herd delivered by contract drovers typically consisted of as many as 3,000 head and employed about eleven persons. An estimated two-thirds of these individuals were whites-"cowboys" mostly, youths aged twelve to eighteen who were readily available for seasonal work as "waddies," as trail hands then were often called. Trail bosses and ramrods—also usually whites—were somewhat older, often in their twenties. The rest were

members of minorities-blacks, Hispanics, or Indians—mature men usually, who often served as cooks and as horse wranglers. A few adventurous young women rode the trail, frequently disguised as boys. Wages ranged from \$25 to \$40 a month for waddies,



Early Cowboys Trailing Cattle. Courtesy of the Texas Longhorn Breeders Association.



\$50 for wranglers, and \$75 for cooks and ramrods, to \$100 or more for trail bosses, who often also shared the profits. With chuck and equipment wagons leading the way toward suitable campsites, followed closely by horse wranglers and remudas (spare horses), drives were herded by a couple of waddies on "point," two or more on "flank," and two or more on "drag," that dusty rear position often reserved for greenhorns or meted out as punishment to enforce discipline. Little of the work was glamorous. Most days were uneventful; a plodding, leisurely pace of ten to fifteen miles a day allowed cattle to graze their way to market in about six weeks. Drudgery was occasionally punctuated with violent weather, stampedes, dangerous river crossings, and, rarely, hostile Indians. Even so, few trail bosses allowed youthful waddies to carry pistols, which were prone to discharge and stampede cattle. The gun-totin' image of cowboys owes more to Hollywood than to history.

By about 1876 most northern cattle drives shifted westward from the Texas Road (or Chisholm Trail) to the Western (Dodge City or Ogallala) Trail. By then much of the eastern trail in Texas traversed settled country, and farmers strenuously objected to cattle being driven through their fields. Civilized tribes in Indian Territory increasingly demanded grazing fees from the drovers who crossed their reservations. And, after 1873, Texas herds capable of carrying Texas fever were quarantined from Abilene, Ellsworth, and Wichita, forcing drovers who continued to use the

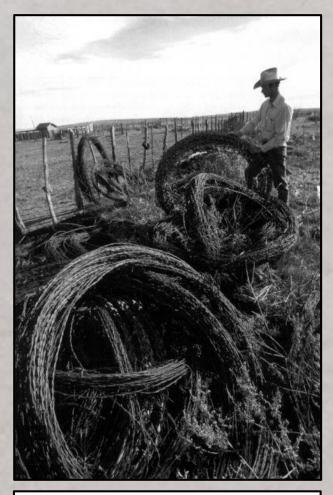


Herding Cattle on the Western Trail. Courtesy of the Barbara Vaupel and the Oklahoma State Senate Historical Preservation Fund.

Chisholm Trail westward to Hays. Looking for an alternate route and market, in 1874 contract drover John Lytle blazed the Western Trail to Dodge City, but few of his contemporaries immediately followed his path. Most of them waited until Comanche and Kiowas Indians had been disarmed and forced onto reservations after the Red River War (1871–76). Thereafter, until Kansas and other northern states and territories totally quarantined themselves against Texas fever in 1885, the trail to Dodge was the principal thoroughfare over which between 2.7 million and 6 million Texas cattle were



moved to market. To forestall the end of trailing, contract drovers and South Texas cattlemen sought to circumvent quarantines by asking Congress to establish a National Trail, a federal highway for cattle that would have departed the Western Trail south of the Kansas border, run westward through the Oklahoma Panhandle, and then turned northward to pass through Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana, ending at the international boundary. But the bill died in the House of Representatives. By then the Western Trail had been blocked in innumerable places with barbed wire fences, legally erected and not, both in Texas and north of the Red River. With the movement of cattle thus greatly impeded by quarantines and barbed wire, Texas cattlemen increasingly shifted to railroads to transport their animals to market.



Coiled Barbed Wire. Courtesy of the Texas Department of Transportation.

### **Atascosito Road**

L. W. Kemp

The Atascosito or Atascosita Road, established by the Spanish before 1757 as a military highway to East Texas (see SPANISH TEXAS), took its name from Atascosito, a Spanish settlement and military outpost on the Trinity River near the site of what is now Liberty, Texas. The road extended from Refugio and Goliad to the Atascosito Crossing on the Colorado River, on to the Brazos near San Felipe de Austin, and across the area of what is now northern Harris County to the Trinity. The eastward extension of the trail was known as the Opelousas or La Bahía Road. After the development of the cattle industry in Texas, the old Atascosito Road was followed by cattle drivers from South Texas to New Orleans.

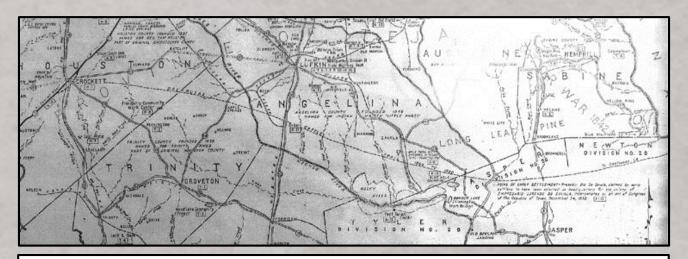


Atascosito Centennial Marker. Courtesy of Barclay Gibson.

# **Beef Trail**



The Beef Trail, or Beef Road, as surveyed by John R. Bevil, ran from Orcoquisac, or Liberty, Texas, to a junction with the <u>La Bahía Road</u>. Running northeast through the site of present Jasper, it crossed the Sabine River near that of Belgrade, Newton County. After crossing the Sabine, one branch went to Alexandria, Louisiana, and the other to Natchitoches, Louisiana. The name came from the fact that the road was used for driving cattle from Texas into Louisiana. The trail, which is supposed to have been surveyed about 1823, was abandoned soon after the <u>Texas Revolution</u>.



Map of the Beef Trail in Angelina County.



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# Ford and Neighbors Trail 4

The Ford and Neighbors Trail was a route between Austin and El Paso laid out in the spring and summer of 1849 by Robert S. Neighbors and John S. Ford, who were accompanied by D. C. Sullivan, A. D. Neal, and various Indian guides and interpreters. The outward route taken by the party to El Paso was declared impractical, but the return route, well-watered and easily followed, was recommended and marked for general travel. As used by numbers of California-bound emigrants, the route followed several trails from Austin to the head of Brady Creek in what is now Concho County, an overland distance of 160 miles. From Brady Creek the trail went seventy-five miles west to Blue River, or the Middle Concho, a site now in the northwest corner of Irion County, thence southwest forty-five miles to Flat Rock water hole in the area of present Upton County, thence west thirty-five miles to a point on the Pecos River, probably near the mouth of Comanche Creek in present Crane County, thence up the Pecos 110 miles into New Mexico, thence northwest for forty miles, and thence southwest for 115 miles to El Paso. The total distance between Austin and El

#### ROAD TO EL PASO.

Since our last issue, Maj. Neighbors and Dr. Ford have arrived in town. The first named gentleman is United States Indian Agent for Texas, and from his extensive intercourse with the Indian tribes of the plains, well acquainted with the general features of the country intervening between this place and the Upper Rio Grande. In consequence of his peculiar fitness for the undertaking, we believe he was requested by Gen. Worth to take with him a party of friendly Indi ans, and traverse the country as far as Paso del Norte. to which he assented. Dr. John S. Ford, resident of this city, and long and favorably known among us, at the suggestion of many of our citizens, agreed to accompany Maj. Neighbors. They both set out from Torrey's Trading House some time in April, and proceeded, in company with their Indian escort, without difficulty or interruption to El Paso, which they reached in some twenty-three travelling days. Remaining there until the 6th of May to recruit, they set out on their return and arrived at San Antonio to make their report to the commanding officer of this department on the 2d inst., making the traveling time on their return also twenty-two days.

By this time there is an excellent wagon road opened from this place to El Paso, following the return route of Maj. Neighbors and Dr. Ford. From Austin to Fredericksburg, a good wagon way has been in use for a considerable length of time. On the route leading up from this city on the East side of the Colorado, the road is open as far as Hamilton's Valley station. Thence to the South Conchos or Kickapoo, and beyond, it remains to be cleared.

Texas Democrat, June 16, 1849.

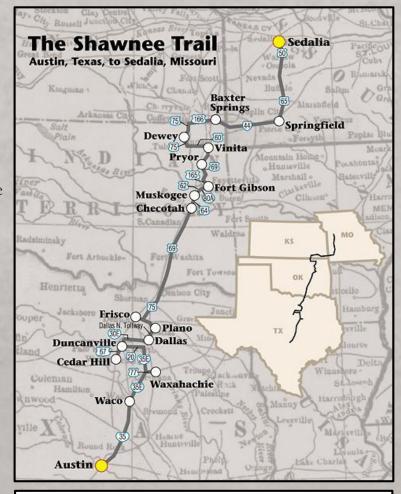
Paso was 580 miles, and the trip could be made in twenty days on horseback.



# Shawnee Trail Wayne Gard

Of the principal routes by which Texas <u>longhorn cattle</u> were taken afoot to railheads to the north, the earliest and easternmost was the Shawnee Trail. Used before and just after the <u>Civil War</u>, the Shawnee Trail gathered cattle from east and west of its main stem, which passed through Austin, Waco, and Dallas. It crossed the Red River at Rock Bluff, near Preston, and led north along the eastern edge of what became Oklahoma, a route later followed closely by the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad. The drovers took over a trail long used by Indians in hunting and raiding and by southbound settlers from the Midwest; the latter called it the Texas Road. North of Fort Gibson the cattle route

split into terminal branches that ended in such Missouri points as St. Louis, Sedalia, Independence, Westport, and Kansas City, and in Baxter Springs and other towns in eastern Kansas. Early drovers referred to their route as the cattle trail, the Sedalia Trail, the Kansas Trail, or simply the trail. Why some began calling it the Shawnee Trail is uncertain, but the name may have been suggested by a Shawnee village on the Texas side of the Red River just below the trail crossing or by the Shawnee Hills, which the route skirted on the eastern side before crossing the Canadian River.







# Goodnight-Loving Trail

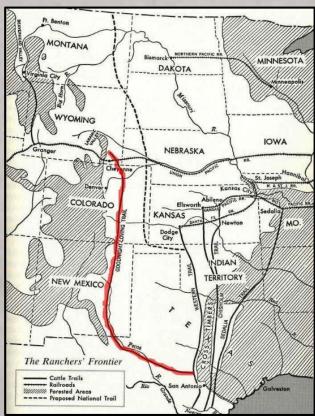
T. C. Richardson

The Goodnight-Loving Trail ran from Young County, Texas, southwest to Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos River, up the Pecos to Fort Sumner, New Mexico, and on north to Colorado. In the spring and early summer of 1866 Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving drove their first herd of longhorn cattle over the Butterfield Overland Mail route from near Fort Belknap via the Middle Concho River and Castle Gap, to Horsehead (on some old maps marked Dead Horse) Crossing. Leaving the former mail route there, they worked up the Pecos, crossing it from time to time as the terrain and watering places required. They drove a second herd, bought from John S. Chisum,

from his Concho River range to Fort Sumner later that same summer.

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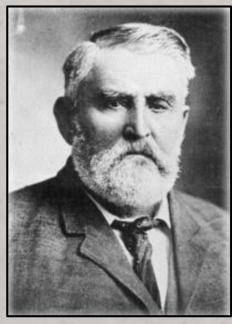
The northern extension of the Goodnight-Loving Trail was first blazed by Loving in the fall of 1866. Initially, it ran north from Fort Sumner up the Pecos to Las Vegas, then followed the Santa Fe Trail to Raton Pass and around the base of the Rockies via Trinidad and Pueblo to Denver, Colorado. Since that was a roundabout way, Goodnight in the fall of 1867 altered the route fifty or sixty miles to the east, crossing the Gallinas valley and the well-watered plains of northeastern New Mexico near Capulin Mountain before swinging back northwestward to Raton Pass. At Raton Pass "Uncle Dick" Wootton had established a toll station near the summit and charged Goodnight ten cents a head for passage. Goodnight complied, but not without protest. At the head of Apishapa Canyon, forty miles northeast of Trinidad, he set up a ranch and cattle-relay station.



Map of the Goodnight-Loving Trail. Courtesy of Macmillan Publishing Company.



In the spring of 1868 Goodnight entered into a contract with John Wesley Iliff in which he agreed to deliver his cattle to Iliff at the Union Pacific Railroad town of Cheyenne, Wyoming. From the Arkansas valley near Pueblo, Goodnight and his men struck out due north, passing east of Denver, to the South Platte River. They crossed that stream at the site of present Greeley and followed a tributary, Crow Creek, to Cheyenne, where the delivery was made. Afterward, Goodnight and his men went back to New Mexico to buy more cattle from Chisum at Bosque Grande. Returning north, Goodnight further "straightened out" the trail by leaving the Pecos north of Fort Sumner and traveling north to Alamogordo Creek and across the plains via Cuervo Creek and its tributaries to a spot on the Canadian River twenty miles west of Fort Bascom. From there he proceeded to the Cimarron Seco west of Capulin



Charles Goodnight.

Mountain. In order to avoid Dick Wootton's toll road, Goodnight opened a new, easier passageway through Tinchera Pass into Colorado.

The Goodnight-Loving Trail was thus routed, and although Goodnight himself made only one more delivery at Cheyenne, many cattle concerns from Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado used all or portions of the trail extensively until the advent of railroads in the Southwest in the early 1880s. The trail was sometimes known simply as the Goodnight Trail.



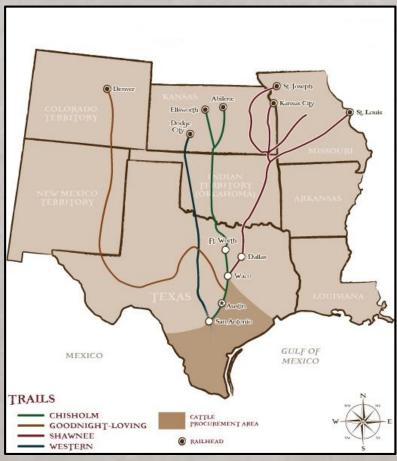
Oliver Loving.

### **Western Trail**

Jimmy M. Skaggs

The Western Trail, also known as the Dodge City Trail and the Fort Griffin Trail, was blazed in 1874 by cattle-drover John T. Lytle, who herded 3,500 longhorn cattle along the leading edge of the frontier from South Texas to the Red Cloud Indian Agency at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. Following the defeat of the Plains Indians in the Red River War, Lytle's route supplanted the farmer-laden Chisholm Trail to the east. By 1879 the Western Trail was the principal thoroughfare for Texas cattle bound for northern markets. Feeder routes such as the Matamoros Trail from Brownsville, which ran northward through Santa Rosa, George West, Three Rivers, San Antonio, Beckman, Leon

Springs, Boerne, and Comfort, and the Old Trail from Castroville, which ran northward through Bandera and Camp Verde, converged in Kerrville to form the Western Trail. The trail proceeded northward, crossing the James River near the site of present Noxville, the Llano at Beef Trail Crossing, the San Saba at **Pegleg Crossing**, and Brady Creek west of Brady. The trail left the Hill Country through Cow Gap, where minor feeder trails from Mason, San Saba, and Lampasas counties converged. It crossed the Colorado River at Waldrip and passed through Coleman, where a trail from Trickham and one of two feeders from Tom Green County merged with the trunk route. Beyond Coleman, the Western Trail fanned out to take advantage of grassy



Map of the Western Trail.



prairies; branches passed through the sites of present Baird, Clyde, Putnam, and Albany, where the Potter and Bacon Trail (or Potter-Blocker Trail) diverged toward the Llano Estacado and Colorado pastures, and reunited north of Albany. The Western Trail crossed the Clear Fork of the Brazos near Fort Griffin at the Butterfield-Military Road crossing, where the second feeder trail from Tom Green County, which ran through Buffalo Gap, joined the trunk route. Thence the Western Trail proceeded through Throckmorton, crossed the Brazos at Seymour and the Pease at the site of Vernon, and veered northeastward to leave Texas at what later became known as Doan's Crossing, on the Prairie Dog Town Fork of the Red River. Several alternative routes crossed Indian Territory to Dodge City, Kansas, on the Santa Fe Railroad, the first and most important terminus of the trail; to Ogallala, Nebraska, on the Union Pacific, the principal alternative



Great Western Cattle Trail Historical Marker.

for rail shipment; and to northern ranges. Some herds were delivered to Indian reservations on the northern plains.

Several factors such as <u>barbed wire</u>, the introduction of beefier cattle breeds, and the settlement of the frontier contributed to the demise of the Western Trail, but a principal cause was the <u>Texas fever</u> controversy. Carried northward by longhorns, the disease decimated northern herds, giving rise by 1885 to quarantines in many northern states and territories which banned the importation of Texas cattle during warm months. In an attempt to circumvent state legislation, Texas congressman <u>James Francis Miller</u>, Lytle's brother-in-law, introduced legislation that would have plotted a <u>National</u> <u>Trail</u> north of Texas under federal supervision, but the proposal did not pass. The last reported drive on the Western Trail was made in 1893 by <u>John Rufus Blocker</u> to Deadwood, South Dakota. By then, three to five million cattle had been driven to northern pastures and markets along the route.

By the early twenty-first century, the Great Western Cattle Trail Association had undertaken the mission to preserve the route of the trail by placing cement markers every six miles. The first marker in Texas was erected in 2004 at Doans, Texas.



### Chisholm Trail





The Chisholm Trail was the major route out of Texas for livestock. Although it was used only from 1867 to 1884, the <u>longhorn cattle</u> driven north along it provided a steady source of income that helped the impoverished state recover from the <u>Civil War</u>. Youthful trail hands on <u>mustangs</u> gave a Texas flavor to the entire range cattle industry of the Great Plains and made the cowboy an enduring folk hero.



Map of the Chisholm Trail.



When the Civil War ended, the state's only potential assets were its countless longhorns, for which no market was available—Missouri and Kansas had closed their borders to Texas cattle in the 1850s because of the deadly **Texas fever** they carried. In the East was a growing demand for beef, and many men, among them Joseph G. McCoy of Illinois, sought ways of supplying it with Texas cattle. In the spring of 1867 he persuaded Kansas Pacific officials to lay a siding at the hamlet of Abilene, Kansas, on the edge of the quarantine area. He began building pens and loading facilities and sent word to Texas cowmen that a cattle market was available. That year he shipped 35,000 head; the number doubled each year until 1871, when 600,000 head glutted the market.

The first herd to follow the future Chisholm Trail to Abilene belonged to O. W. Wheeler and his partners, who in 1867 bought 2,400 steers in San Antonio. They planned to winter them on the plains, then trail them on to California. At the North Canadian River in Indian Territory they saw wagon tracks and followed them. The tracks were made by Scot-Cherokee Jesse Chisholm, who in 1864 began hauling trade goods to Indian camps about 220 miles south of his post near modern Wichita. At first the route was merely referred to as the Trail, the Kansas Trail, the Abilene Trail, or McCoy's Trail. Though it was originally applied only to the trail north of the Red River, Texas cowmen soon gave Chisholm's name to the entire trail from the Rio Grande to central Kansas. The earliest known references to the Chisholm Trail in print were in the Kansas Daily Commonwealth of May 27 and October 11, 1870. On April 28, 1874, the Denison, Texas, Daily News mentioned cattle going up "the famous Chisholm Trail."



Jesse Chisholm. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

The herds followed the old **Shawnee Trail** by way of San Antonio, Austin, and Waco, where the trails split. The Chisholm Trail continued on to Fort Worth, then passed east of Decatur to the crossing at Red River Station. From Fort Worth to Newton, Kansas, U.S. Highway 81 follows the Chisholm Trail. It was, Wayne Gard observed, like a tree—the roots were the feeder trails from South Texas, the trunk was the main route from San Antonio across Indian Territory, and the branches were extensions to various railheads in Kansas. Between 1871, when Abilene ceased to be a cattle market, and 1884 the trail



might end at Ellsworth, Junction City, Newton, Wichita, or Caldwell. The <u>Western</u> <u>Trail</u> by way of Fort Griffin and Doan's Store ended at Dodge City.

The cattle did not follow a clearly defined trail except at river crossings; when dozens of herds were moving north it was necessary to spread them out to find grass. The animals were allowed to graze along for ten or twelve miles a day and never pushed except to reach water; cattle that ate and drank their fill were unlikely to stampede. When conditions were favorable longhorns actually gained weight on the trail. After trailing techniques were perfected, a trail boss, ten cowboys, a cook, and a horse wrangler could trail 2,500 cattle three months for sixty to seventy-five cents a head. This was far cheaper than shipping by rail.

The Chisholm Trail led to the new profession of trailing contractor. A few large ranchers such as Capt. Richard King and Abel (Shanghai) Pierce delivered their own stock, but trailing contractors handled the vast majority of herds. Among them were John T. Lytle and his partners, who trailed about 600,000 head. Others were George W. Slaughter and sons, Snyder Brothers, Blocker Brothers, and Pryor Brothers. In 1884 Pryor Brothers contracted to deliver 45,000 head, sending them in fifteen separate herds for a net profit of \$20,000.

After the Plains tribes were subdued and the **buffalo** decimated, ranches sprang up all over the Plains; most were stocked with Texas longhorns and manned by Texas cowboys. Raising cattle on open range and free grass attracted investments from the East and abroad in partnerships such as that of **Charles Goodnight** and Irish financier John Adair or in ranching syndicates such as the Scottish Prairie Land and Cattle Company and the Matador Land and Cattle **Company**. Texas tried to outlaw alien land ownership but failed. The

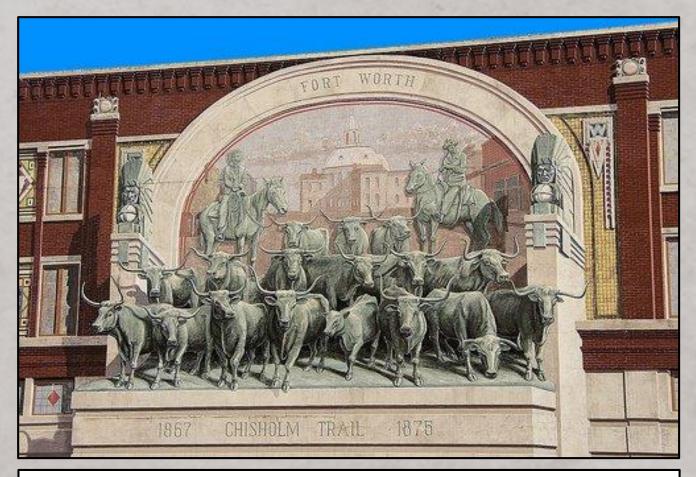


XIT Ranch Workers in 1881. Courtesy of the University of Texas at Arlington Library.

<u>XIT Ranch</u> arose when the Texas legislature granted the Capitol Syndicate of Chicago three million acres for building a new <u>Capitol</u>.



The Chisholm Trail was finally closed by **barbed wire** and an 1885 Kansas quarantine law; by 1884, its last year, it was open only as far as Caldwell, in southern Kansas. In its brief existence it had been followed by more than five million cattle and a million mustangs, the greatest migration of livestock in world history.



Chisholm Trail Mural at Sundance Square in Fort Worth.

# Longhorn Cattle



The Texas longhorn is a hybrid breed resulting from a random mixing of Spanish retinto (criollo) stock and English cattle that Anglo-American frontiersmen brought to

Texas from southern and midwestern states in the 1820s and 1830s. "A few old-timers,"

J. Frank Dobie wrote, "contend that both the horns and bodies of the Texas cattle were derived from importations from the States out of Longhorn Herefords of England," but he was convinced that the Texas longhorn was largely Spanish. Spanish



Texas Longhorn Cow.

cattle had roamed in Texas probably before the eighteenth century. The old-timers were probably right. Some cattlemen observed that not only the horns and bodies, but also the colors of many Texas longhorns resembled the English Bakewell stock brought from the Ohio valley and Kentucky. Criollo cattle are of solid color ranging from Jersey tan to cherry red. Black animals are few and brindles rare. Spanish and Anglo cattle mixed on a small scale in the 1830s and after, but by the <u>Civil War</u> the half-wild Texas longhorns emerged as a recognizable type. They behaved like Spanish stock but had an appreciable

amount of British blood. Old steers (four years old and older) had extremely long horns, and the large number of these animals in postwar trail herds produced the popular misconception that all Texas cattle had unusually long horns. In the 1880s, when younger cattle with improved blood were trailed north, the average horn spread was less than four feet.

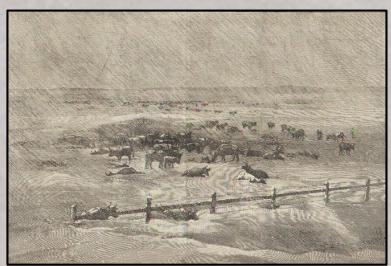


Spanish Criollo Cattle.



In the 1850s Texas longhorns were trailed to markets in New Orleans and California. They developed an immunity to Texas fever, which they carried with them and passed on to herds on the way. In 1861 Missouri and the eastern counties of Kansas banned Texas stock, and during the second half of the nineteenth century many states attempted to enact restrictive laws in an effort to fight the fever. After the Civil War, however, millions of Texas longhorns were driven to market. Herds were driven to Indian and military reservations in New Mexico and Arizona, and in 1867 Illinois cattle dealer Joseph G. McCoy arranged to ship cattle from Abilene, Kansas, to the Union Stockyards in Chicago. Over the next twenty years contractors drove five to ten million cattle out of Texas, commerce that helped revive the state's economy. Longhorns, with their long legs and hard hoofs, were ideal trail cattle; they even gained weight on the way to market.

After the **buffalo** herds were slaughtered and the Plains Indians confined in the late 1870s, private and syndicate ranches spread northward to the open range and free grass on the Great Plains. Texas longhorns, accompanied by Texas cowboys, stocked most of the new ranches; the trailing era made the cowboy a universal folk hero. The "Big Die-up" of 1886–87, together with the rapid spread of barbed wire fences, brought an abrupt end to the open-range cattle boom and with it the dominance of the longhorn. Fencing made possible



Cattle in Blizzard on the Plains by Charles Graham (1886). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

controlled breeding, and with the end of free grass it was economically advisable to raise cattle that developed faster than longhorns. By this time ranchers had begun crossing longhorns with shorthorn Durhams and later with <u>Herefords</u>, thus producing excellent beef animals. Longhorns were bred almost out of existence; by the 1920s only a few small herds remained.

In 1927 the Texas longhorn was saved from probable extinction by Will C. Barnes and other Forest Service men, when they collected a small herd of breeding stock in South Texas for the Wichita Mountains Wildlife Refuge in Oklahoma. A few years later



J. Frank Dobie, with the help of former range inspector Graves Peeler and financial support from oilman Sid W. Richardson, gathered small herds for Texas state parks. After the wildlife-refuge herd had increased to several hundred, the Forest Service held annual sales of surplus animals. Cowmen at first purchased them as curiosities, then rediscovered the longhorn's longevity, resistance to disease, fertility, ease of calving, and ability to thrive on marginal pastures. Its growing popularity in beef herds was spurred by a diet-conscious population's desire for lean beef.

In 1964 Charles Schreiner III of the YO Ranch took the lead in organizing the Texas Longhorn Breeders Association of America, which maintains a registry in order to perpetuate the breed in a pure state. Since then the number of longhorns and their use in cross-breeding have steadily increased, and their future appears secure. Since 1948 the official state Texas longhorn herd has been kept at Fort Griffin State Historic Site which is now part of the Texas Historical Commission. Smaller longhorn herds have been located at various times at Possum Kingdom State Recreation Area, Palo Duro Canyon State Scenic Park, Abilene State Park, Dinosaur Valley State Park, and Copper Breaks State Park.

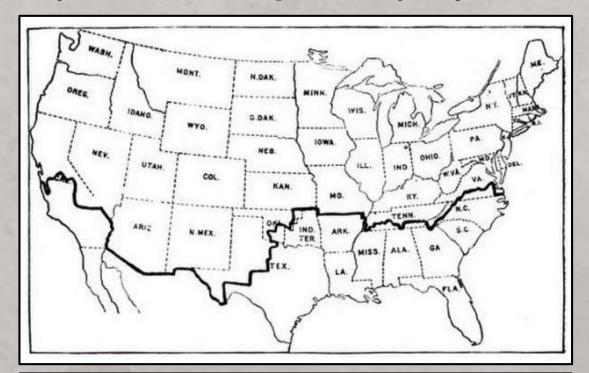


Texas Longhorn Cattle.



#### Tamara Miner Haygood

Readers of the *Veterinarian*, an English journal, were informed in June 1868 that a "very subtle and terribly fatal disease" had broken out among cattle in Illinois. The disease killed quickly and was reported to be "fatal in every instance." The disease was very nearly as fatal as the *Veterinarian* claimed. Midwestern farmers soon realized that it was associated with longhorn cattle driven north by South Texas ranchers. The Texas cattle appeared healthy, but midwestern cattle, including Panhandle animals, allowed to mix with them or to use a pasture recently vacated by the longhorns, became ill and very often died. Farmers called the disease Texas fever or Texas cattle fever because of its connection with Texas cattle. Other names included Spanish fever and splenic or splenetic fever, from its characteristic lesions of the spleen. The disease is also known as hemoglobinuric fever and red-water fever, and formerly as dry murrain and bloody murrain. To protect their cattle, states along the cattle trails passed quarantine laws



Map Showing the Spread of Cattle Fever (1902).



routing cattle away from settled areas or restricting the passage of herds to the winter months, when there was less danger from Texas fever. In 1885 Kansas entirely outlawed the driving of Texas cattle across its borders. Kansas, with its central location and rail links with other, more northern markets, was crucial to the Texas cattle-trailing business. The closing of Kansas, together with restrictive legislation passed by many other states, was an important factor in ending the Texas cattle-trailing industry that had flourished for twenty years (see SHAWNEE TRAIL).

Though Texas fever was clearly associated with Texas cattle, its cause remained for many years a mystery. Various theories were proposed to account for a fatal disease being transmitted by apparently healthy animals. One held that the longhorns ate poisonous plants that did not hurt them but that made their wastes so toxic that the smallest amount accidentally ingested by a nonimmune midwestern cow could cause illness and death. By the 1880s the work of pioneer bacteriologists Robert Koch of Germany and Louis Pasteur of France, among others, was widely known and accepted. These men had identified several specific diseasecausing bacteria, and Pasteur had devised vaccinations to prevent chicken cholera and anthrax. Hoping for similar success, scientists

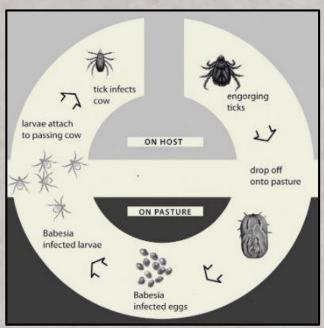


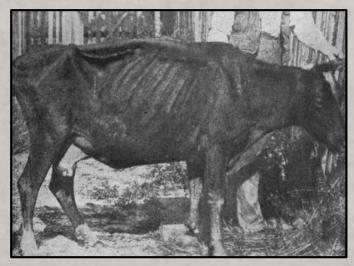
Diagram of Tick Life Cycle and Texas Fever.

studying Texas fever also were looking for a microorganism. In 1893 Theobald Smith and Fred Lucius Kilborne of the federal Bureau of Animal Industry in Washington, D.C., announced their isolation of the pathogen of Texas fever. They demonstrated that the disease is caused by a microscopic protozoan that inhabits and destroys red blood cells. Smith and Kilborne named the protozoan *Pyrosoma bigeminum*. It is now recognized that either of two species of the renamed genus *Babesia*, called *Babesia bigemina* and *Babesia bovis*, may be involved in Texas fever. From this is derived the modern name babesiosis, which is applied both to Texas fever and to infections caused throughout the world by these pathogens and other members of the same genus. Besides identifying the microorganism responsible for babesiosis, Smith and Kilborne discovered that the disease was spread by cattle ticks. After sucking blood from an infected animal, a tick would drop off into the grass and lay eggs from which would



hatch young ticks already harboring the protozoan. Weeks after the original tick dropped from its longhorn host, its progeny were still capable of infecting other cattle. Several different species of tick are now known to spread babesiosis.

Identification of the pathogen and vector of babesiosis still did not explain the apparent good health of the Texas cattle that carried the disease. Modern research indicates that calves are born with a natural partial resistance to infection that lasts a month or two after birth and goes away gradually. In areas like nineteenth-century Texas (and other southern states), where the disease was widespread, the calf suffers a mild attack at an early age, then develops enough immunity to keep from being overwhelmed but not enough to rid itself of the pathogen. By the time



Cow Sick with Texas Fever.

the animal reaches adulthood, it has a shaky balance with its protozoan parasites that allows it to live in reasonably good health while remaining a carrier. Babesiosis is still a serious threat to livestock in many parts of the world. In the United States it has been eliminated by a vigorous program of cattle dipping, which eradicated the tick vector. King Ranch manager Robert J. Kleberg is credited with building the first dipping vat in the state. Before the disease was eradicated in this country, nonimmune American cattle were protected from it by elaborate federal quarantine laws separating southern cattle from others in railway cars and stockyards. Northern cattle imported to the South for breeding purposes could be immunized by receiving injections of small amounts of blood from infected animals. Mark Francis of Texas A&M was a pioneer in the development of this method of immunization.

# Cattle Brands

11

David Dary

Cattle brands still play an important role in identifying an animal's owner in Texas cattle ranching. The practice of branding is ancient. Some Egyptian tomb paintings at least 4,000 years old depict scenes of roundups and cattle branding, and biblical evidence suggests that Jacob the herdsman branded his stock. Burning an identifying mark into the hide of an animal was, until the invention of the tattoo, the only method of marking that lasted the life of the animal. The practice of branding came to the New World with the Spaniards, who brought the first cattle to



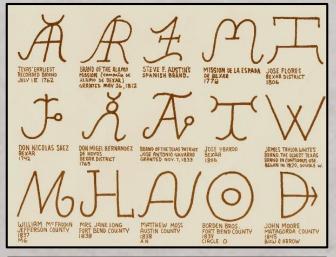
Cowboys Branding Cattle.

New Spain. When Hernán Cortés experimented with cattle breeding during the late sixteenth century in the valley of Mexicalzimgo, south of modern Toluca, Mexico, he branded his cattle. His brand, three Latin crosses, may have been the first brand used in the Western Hemisphere. As cattle raising grew, in 1537 the crown ordered the establishment of a stockmen's organization called Mesta throughout New Spain. Each cattle owner had to have a different brand, and each brand had to be registered in what undoubtedly was the first brand book in the Western Hemisphere, kept at Mexico City. Soon after the Spaniards moved north into Texas and cattle raising developed on a large scale during the middle eighteenth century, the crown ordered the branding of all cattle. The early Spanish brands in Texas were more generally pictographs than letters. The Spaniards chose their brands to represent beautiful sentiments in beautiful ways. Most of the early Spanish brands found in the **Bexar** and **Nacogdoches** archives are pictographs made with curlicues and pendants. A cattle raiser would compose his own brand. When his first son acquired cattle, a curlicue or pendant was added to the father's brand, and as other sons acquired their own cattle, additional curlicues or pendants were added to what became the family brand. Only a few Spanish brands found in the Bexar and Nacogdoches archives are made of letters.



Many early Anglo-American Texas ranchers were unable to interpret the brands used under the Spanish and Mexican regimes. Texans often referred to them as "dog irons" or "quién sabes" (quién sabe? = "who knows?") since they could not be read. Most of the early brands of Texans, by contrast, were made of initials and could be read with ease. Richard H. Chisholm owned perhaps the first recorded brand, registered in Gonzales County in 1832. During the years of the Republic of Texas, the recording of brands was

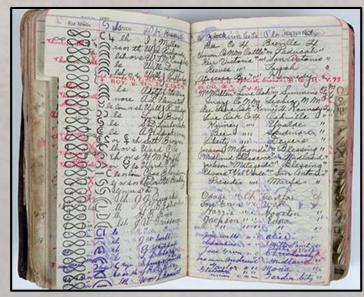
provided for but not rigidly enforced. The



Cattle Brands from Early Texas History.

oldest brand records under state government are those found along the Texas coast. Harris County began keeping records in 1836. Stephen F. Austin recorded his initial brand in Brazoria County in 1838, about four years after he began using it. Galveston County records began in 1839, the year Gail Borden, Jr., first recorded his brand, the first one entered in the Galveston County brand book. When Nueces County was organized in 1847, brands were recorded, but the cattle industry in the county was not dignified by having a separate brand-registration book. During the first seven years brand

registrations in Nueces County were sandwiched between marriage licenses, sales of slaves, declarations of citizenship, oaths of office, bonds for administration of estates, wills, and construction contracts. Beginning in 1848, Texas provided for recording brands with the county clerk, with the stipulation that an unrecorded brand did not constitute legal evidence of ownership. This provision was modified in 1913 after thefts went unpunished where unrecorded brands were involved. A considerable body of Texas law deals with brands. At one time the office of hide and cattle inspector was an elective county office.

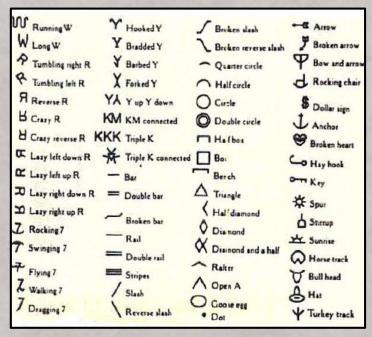


Texas Cattle Raisers' Association Brand Inspection Book from the 1910s. Courtesy of the Bullock Texas State History Museum.



Many western counties did not begin brand registration until the 1870s or 1880s. By then letters, numerals, and even names were popular brands in Texas. Though such brands were easily read, others have to be seen. Among them are the "Hogeye," "Fishtail," "Milliron," "Buzzard on a rail," "Coon on a rail," "Saddle Pockets" or "Swinging blocks," "Quién sabe," "Grab-all," and countless others with intriguing names. Representations of such common subjects as an anvil, truck handle, hash knife, door key, bridle bit, spur, pitchfork, old woman, doll baby, broadax, boot, shoe, hat, rocking chair, frying pan, and so on were commonplace.

In branding terminology, a leaning letter or character is "tumbling." In the horizontal position it is "lazy." Short curved strokes or wings added at the top make a "Flying T." The addition of short bars at the bottom of a symbol makes it "walking." Changing angular lines into curves makes a brand "running." Half-circles, quarter-circles, and triangles were frequently used in late-nineteenth-century brands. An open triangle was a "rafter." If a letter rested in a quarter-circle it was "rocking." There were "bars," "stripes," "rails," and "slashes" that differed only in length and angle. When a straight line connected characters, a "chain"



Cattle Branding Legend.

was made. A picture of a fish marked the cattle owned by Mrs. Fish of Houston. A. Coffin of Port Lavaca used a representation of a coffin with a large A on it. Bud Christmas of Seminole had his XMAS brand, and S. A. Hightower of Breckenridge placed "HI" beside a mushroom-like object.

C. C. Slaughter, who was instrumental in organizing the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association, established his cattle business on the Trinity River in Freestone County during the 1850s. He became dissatisfied with his location and moved twice, finally locating the Long S Ranch at the headwaters of the Colorado River in 1877. His brand, however, was not recorded until September 1879, when it was subsequently run in Howard, Martin, Dawson, Borden, Cochran, and Hockley counties. Many old-time Texas cattlemen believed that during the latter half of the nineteenth century more



cattle were sold in the open markets with Slaughter's brand than with any other brand in the world. The famous XIT brand of the **Capitol Freehold Land and Investment**Company, once registered in nine counties, was designed by Ab (Abner P.) Blocker, a well-known traildriver.

No law dictated the exact spot on a cow's hide for the branding, yet through the years the left side of the animal, especially the hip, became the customary spot. Nowhere in old documents or recollections does anyone say why the left side was chosen, but the recollections of some oldtime cowboys suggest that cattle have a peculiar habit of milling more to the left than to the right; hence brands on their left sides would be more visible to cowboys inside the roundup herds. Still other cowboys



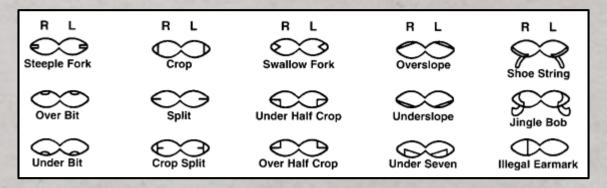
Cattle Branded on the Left Hip.

recalled that cattle were branded on their left hips "because persons read from left to right" and thus read "from the head toward the tail." As one cowboy added, "A right-handed roper would ride slightly to the left of the animal and could see the brand better if it were on that side." Regardless of the reason for the position of a brand on an animal, the position was recorded in brand books.

Marks besides brands were used. Some ranchers marked their cattle with a wattle, a mark of ownership made on the neck or the jaw of an animal by pinching up a quantity of skin and cutting it. The skin, however, is not cut entirely off, and when the cut is healed, a hanging flap is left. Wattles, however, were not as common as earmarks, which were used by nearly every cattleman during the open-range days and were recorded along with brands. As the name suggests, an earmark was a design cut into one or both ears of an animal. Sometimes a portion of the ear might be removed. A semicircular nick was an "underbit" or "overbit." A square clip at the tip of roughly half of the ear was a "crop," while cutting the ear close to the head was a "grub." A V-shaped cut in the tip of the ear was a "swallow-fork." The same mark on both ears became known as a "flickerbob." A "double over-bit" was the mark made by cutting two triangular pieces in the upper part



of the animal's ear. One of the better-known earmarks in Texas was the "jinglebob," a deep slit that left the lower half of the ear flapping down. Many cattlemen considered it one of the most hideous earmarks ever devised. It was the mark of **John S.**Chisum, whose great ranch lay in West Texas and southeastern New Mexico.



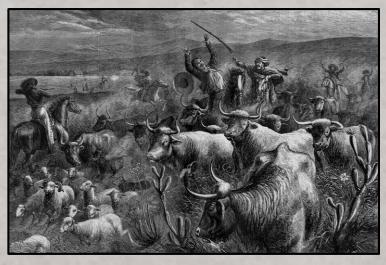
Common Livestock Earmarks. Courtesy of the California Department of Food and Agriculture.

By the 1940s numerous brands that were no longer in use had been registered in county records. On April 14, 1943, the Texas legislature passed a bill designed to deregister many of the unused brands. The bill included a grace period until October 1, 1945, giving cattlemen the opportunity to reregister their brands. Among the oldest continual brands is the Running W of the **King Ranch**, which was originated by **Richard King** in 1869 and reregistered in 1943. *See also* **RANCHING**, **RANCHING IN SPANISH TEXAS**.



## Cattle Rustling 12 Wayne Gard

Cattle theft by Indians was a common hazard of early settlers in Texas. Though the Indians more often stole horses, when their food supply was short, they drove off and butchered beeves, dairy cows, and oxen. Sometimes they stole beyond their needs to avenge wrongs or to drive white settlers from their hunting grounds. Occasionally they started stampedes and killed cattle they could not drive off. In the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, Mexican rustlers gave much trouble along the border. In claims made against the



Cattle Raid on the Texas Border (1874). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

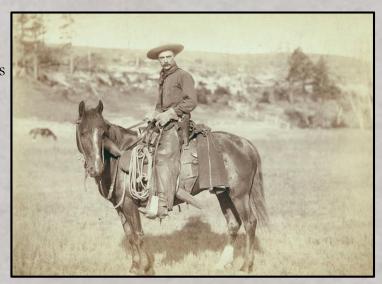
Mexican government, it was asserted that from 1859 through 1872 Mexican bandits stole 145,298 cattle from various South Texas ranches. The depredations of Indian and Mexican rustlers, however, fell far short of those perpetrated by white renegades. In fact, ranchmen in Mexico often were victimized by Texas thieves who swam large herds of "wet stock" across the Rio Grande by night and trailed them to Kansas markets. Other rustlers stampeded herds on the northward trails and drove off as many cattle as they could, using six-shooters to defend themselves if pursued. Many preyed on herds that grazed on the western ranges, especially where canyons or high brush afforded hiding places.

Most rustlers of the open-range era were cowboys who had drifted into dubious practices. They knew the cattle country and were adept at roping, branding, and trailing. One needed only to buy a few cows, register a brand, and begin branding strays. Many cowboys' herds increased so rapidly that some ranchmen refused to hire any hand who had stock of his own. The altering of brands was a frequent practice among rustlers. Instead of the stamp iron used by most cattlemen, the rustler used a running iron—a



straight rod with a curve at the heated end. When this was outlawed, he sometimes used a piece of heavy wire that he could bend into any shape and carry in his pocket.

More common was the theft of large unbranded calves. When a ranchman neglected to brand some of his calves before they were weaned, it was easy for the rustler to cut a pasture fence, drive the calves to his corral, and stamp his own brand upon them. Often he was not content with this but would return to take also the smaller calves, not yet weaned. This was more ticklish procedure, since Longhorn cows and calves had a strong instinct for returning to each other, even when separated by miles. Such reunions had to be prevented,



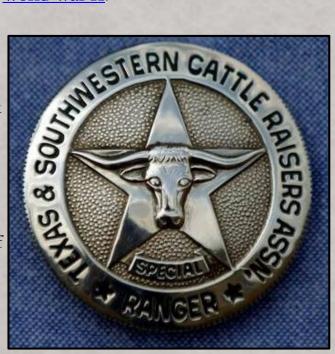
An American Cowboy (1887). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

for if a ranchman found a calf with a rustler's brand nursing from one of his cows, there likely would be trouble. Before branding unweaned calves, often the rustler kept them penned until they quit bawling and learned to eat grass. Other measures used to keep them from getting back to their mothers and to hasten weaning were to cut the muscles supporting the calf's eyelids and thus make it temporarily blind, to apply a hot iron between the toes to make the calf's feet too sore for walking, or, in uncommon cases, to split the calf's tongue to prevent suckling. The rustler might also kill the mother to make the calf a genuine orphan.

With county seats far apart, grand juries disinclined to indict, and trial juries reluctant to convict, early cattlemen often had to take law enforcement into their own hands in dealing with rustlers. Following the transition from the open range to fenced ranches, rustling gradually was lessened by efforts of local officers, the **Texas Rangers**, and inspectors of cattlemen's associations, who checked brands as cattle were sold at livestock markets. Rustling was not entirely stamped out, however, and in the 1930s it broke out in a new form. Thieves equipped with fast trucks stole cattle at night, butchered them in nearby thickets, and sold the meat the next day in markets perhaps several hundred miles away. The extent of this rustling and the fact that the thieves often crossed state lines led Congress in 1941 to pass the McCarran Act, which provided a maximum penalty of a \$5,000 fine and five years in prison for transporting across state

lines stolen cattle or meat from such cattle. This measure, however, did not prevent the sale of stolen meat in black markets during World War II.

In the late 1970s, a new type of thief emerged known as the "Suburban rustler." This individual usually attacked unattended ranchettes, stole four or five head, and took the cattle immediately to auction. Techniques of theft in the later twentieth century included anesthetizing cattle with hypodermic darts, using trained bulldogs to bring the animals down, and herding the booty with helicopters. As the price of beef escalated, so did the ingenuity of the rustlers. Since the early twentieth century, the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association has employed field inspectors to police cattle rustling. These agents, deputized by the **Texas Department of Public Safety** as Special Texas Rangers, helped to recover 4,000 cattle in 1993.



Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association Badge.

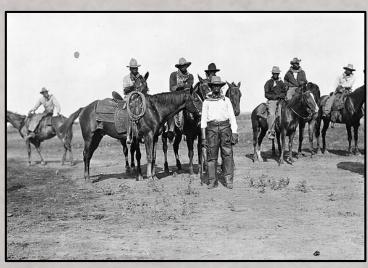


## Black Cowboys



Teresa Palomo Acosta

Black cowboys have been part of Texas history since the early nineteenth century, when they first worked on ranches throughout the state. A good many of the first black cowboys were born into slavery but later found a better life on the open range, where they experienced less open discrimination than in the city. After the Civil War many were employed as horsebreakers and for other tasks, but few of them became ranch foremen or managers. Some black cowboys took up careers as rodeo performers or were hired as federal peace officers in Indian



Black Cowboys at the Negro State Fair. Courtesy of Erwin E. Smith.

Territory. Others ultimately owned their own farms and ranches, while a few who followed the lure of the Wild West became gunfighters and outlaws. Significant numbers of <u>African Americans</u> went on the great cattle drives originating in the Southwest in the late 1800s. Black cowboys predominated in ranching sections of the Coastal Plain between the Sabine and Guadalupe rivers.

A number of them achieved enviable reputations. **Bose Ikard**, a top hand and drover for rancher **Charles Goodnight**, also served him as his chief detective and banker. **Daniel W. (80 John) Wallace** started riding the cattle trails in his adolescence and ultimately worked for cattlemen Winfield Scott and Gus O'Keefe. He put his accumulated savings toward the purchase of a ranch near Loraine, where he acquired more than 1,200 acres and 500 to 600 cattle. He was a member of the **Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association** for more than thirty years. **William Pickett** made his name as one of the most outstanding Wild West rodeo performers in the country and is credited with originating the modern event known as bulldogging. He was inducted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in 1971.



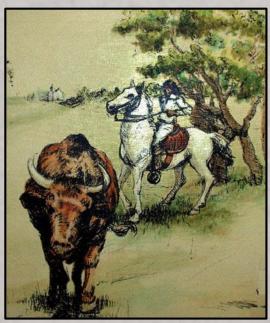
Black cowboys have continued to work in the ranching industry throughout the twentieth century, and African Americans who inherited family-owned ranches have attempted to bring public recognition to the contributions of their ancestors. Mollie Stevenson, a fourth-generation owner of the Taylor-Stevenson Ranch near Houston, founded the American Cowboy Museum to honor black, Indian, and Mexican-American cowboys. Weekend rodeos featuring black cowboys began in the late 1940s and continue to be popular. These contests owe their existence to the Negro Cowboys Rodeo Association, formed in 1947 by a group of East Texas black businessmen-ranchers and cowboys.



Mollie Taylor Stevenson, Jr. Courtesy of the National Multicultural Western Heritage Museum.

## Vaquero 14. Jack Jackson

The vaquero, or cowboy, the mounted herdsman of the Spanish colonial period and his Mexican counterpart of the nineteenth century, is a historical figure that, like the Anglo cowboy, has attained romantic features and near-mythic stature. Actually, the Hispanic and Anglo cowboys faced many of the same harsh working conditions and had more aspects in common than is traditionally recognized. In Texas this was the case because Anglo stock raisers were heavily influenced by the Spanish ranching institutions that they found upon their arrival. Over a period of time, particularly between 1821 and the trail-driving era, many Spanish stock-handling techniques passed into the Anglo way of doing things, and the distinctions between the two traditions blurred. Although such was also the case in other border states, the influence of the Texas "system" was larger, since it extended onto the **High Plains** and overshadowed other methods of working cattle on the open range.



A Vaquero on a Spanish Mission Ranch. Courtesy of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

Spanish vaqueros in colonial times were generally viewed by their society as a rough and rowdy lot. Many of them operated outside the law and preyed upon unbranded cattle that roamed the vast estates of northern Mexico. Often they were *mestizo* or semicivilized Indians on the lower rungs of the social ladder, but they were invariably noted for their horsemanship and stock-tending skills. As ranching made its way north to Texas through the tier of provinces along the Rio Grande, these herdsmen were the vanguard of Hispanic colonization. In many cases they attached themselves to a *patrón* (an influential rancher who owned a grant of land from the king), married, and built a shack on his property. Their children were born and raised in service to the *patrón*, an arrangement that sometimes spanned generations. Early Anglo ranch owners in South Texas, such as Richard King and Mifflin Kenedy, fell heir to this tradition, which continued well into the twentieth century.



Through their working association with vaqueros, young Anglo cowboys learned their techniques and adopted them as a matter of course. From the era of the Texas Revolution and beyond, South Texas abounded in wild longhorn cattle, noted for their stamina and adaptation to the land. After the Civil War these herds increased dramatically and, when rounded up and branded, formed the basis for a number of prosperous huge ranches. Hired vaqueros figured in this process, as well as in the drives to railheads and northern markets. Not only did they ride for Anglo bosses, they on occasion took herds for Mexicans operators. By this time (1870s), the vaquero's saddle, chaps,



Spanish Vaquero. Courtesy of the Bullock Texas State History Museum.

bandana, sombrero, lasso, spurs, and even elements of his expertise were so widespread that they lost their Hispanic identity and became simply "Texan." *See also* **RANCHING**, and **RANCHING IN SPANISH TEXAS**.

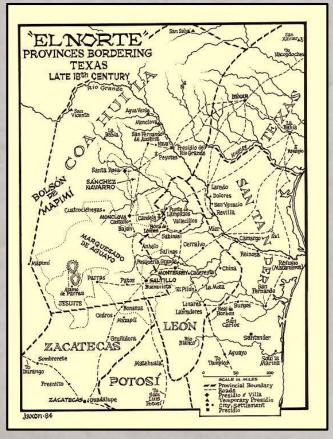


## José Vázquez Borrego

15

Alicia A. Garza

José Vázquez Borrego, pioneer cattle rancher from Coahuila, Mexico, established the first permanent settlement at the site of present Dolores in South Texas on August 22, 1750. In the 1740s Vázquez Borrego made his living as a rancher breeding horses and mules on his ranch, San Juan del Álamo, which was sixty-eight miles northeast of Monclova, Coahuila. His ranching enterprise was successful but was made difficult by Indian raids. When José de Escandón started his entradas into South Texas, Vázquez Borrego had his son Juan José Vázquez Borrego request that his settlement be included in the Nuevo Santander colonization project. As an incentive to Escandón, Vázquez Borrego started a ferry service across the Rio Grande at Dolores that became an important point of entry into Texas because it was the only ferry on the river. Nuestra Señora de los **Dolores Hacienda** was the first colony on the northern side of the Rio Grande and was started with livestock, supplies, and thirteen families that Vázquez Borrego moved from

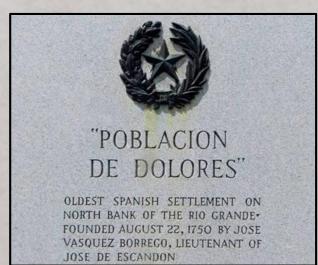


El Norte Provinces and Location of Dolores. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office.

his ranch. Along with a 150,000-acre land grant, Vázquez Borrego was given the title of captain and the benefits the title entailed. To protect the area's settlers he organized a flying squadron of twelve men, whose only duty was to patrol and to ward off attacking war parties. Because he split his time between Hacienda Dolores and the ranch, Vázquez Borrego appointed his nephew overseer of Dolores. By 1753 he was joined by Juan Antonio Vidaurri, a son-in-law, who brought additional settlers to



Dolores. Vázquez Borrego requested additional land from Escandón to accommodate the new settlers and added the Corralitos and San Ygnacio land grants to the family holdings. By 1757 Vázquez Borrego's hacienda was home to twenty-three families all employed by him. Eventually he received land in excess of 350,000 acres in the area that is now Zapata and Webb counties. Upon his death the land grant was divided into Dolores, Corralitos, and San Ygnacio. As late as 1960 his heirs owned part of the original grant.



Historical Marker of Poblacion de Dolores. Courtesy of Barclay Gibson.

## 16

## Tomás Sánchez de la Barrera y Garza

Winifred W. Vigness

Tomás Sánchez de la Barrera y Garza, founder of Laredo, son of Tomás Sánchez and María Josefa de la Garza, was born in the Valle de Carrizal near Monterrey, Nuevo León, in 1709. As a young man he served in the army of his king and later ran a ranch in Coahuila. When civilization pushed northward to the Rio Grande and José Vásquez Borrego established his ranch and headquarters at the Hacienda de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores on the north bank, Sánchez opened a ranch on the south side within sight of the new settlement. He was residing there in 1754, when he petitioned José de Escandón for permission to found a town on the north bank of the river. Escandón wanted a settlement on the Nueces and told Sánchez to explore that area to determine the feasibility of



Founder's Monument in Nuevo Laredo.

establishing a colony there. After a reconnaissance Sánchez reported that he found no site fit for settlement and repeated his request for permission to locate a villa ten leagues north of Dolores near Paso de Jacinto, later called the "Old Indian Crossing," near Fort McIntosh. Escandón approved the request and appointed Sánchez captain and chief justice of the new settlement, to be named Laredo. On May 15, 1755, Sánchez founded Laredo with his family and several others. In 1767, after settlers had received ranchlands and a charter from the Spanish crown, they elected as alcalde José Martínez de Sotomayer; but because of his lack of courage to defend against Indian attacks and his attempt to remove the settlers to the south of the Rio Grande, he was removed from office and replaced by Sánchez. Sánchez was almost singly responsible for maintaining the settlement on the north bank of the Rio Grande, and he held the offices of chief justice and alcalde with only brief intermissions until his death in January 1796. He married Catalina (Catherina) Uribe, and they had nine children. With his second wife, Teodora Yzaguirre, he had two children. On October 16, 1938, the Texas Centennial Commission erected a monument marking the site of the founding of Laredo by Tomás Sánchez.



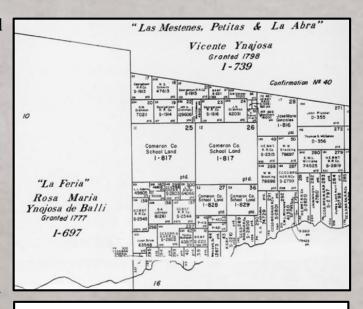
# 17

## Rosa María Hinojosa de Ballí

Clotilde P. García

Rosa Hinojosa de Ballí, a rancher known as La Patrona and the first "cattle queen" of Texas, was born in 1752 in what is now Tamaulipas, Mexico. She was the sixth of the nine children of Capt. Juan José de Hinojosa and María Antonia Inés Ballí de Benavides, Spanish aristocrats whose status as Primitive Settlers gave them priority rights to extensive land grants and public offices. The family moved to Reynosa in 1767, after Hinojosa was appointed alcalde, and joined the elite group of wealthy families who controlled the jurisdiction. Rosa María was educated in Reynosa, probably by the parish priest. She married José María Ballí, a captain of the militia; one of their three sons was José Nicolás Ballí, missionary developer of Padre Island.

Captain Ballí and his father-in-law applied jointly for a large land grant in the La Feria tract, but both men had died by the time the grant was approved in 1790. Balli's will specified that Rosa María was to inherit his share of twelve leagues (55,000 acres). When Doña Rosa took over the estate it was heavily encumbered with debts; by the time of her death thirteen years later, she had doubled the property and made extensive improvements to the La Feria grant. Skillfully and deliberately, she built up her landholdings. In the name of her brother Vicente she financed an application for thirty-five leagues of land in the Las Mesteñas tract. When the grant was



Land Inherited by Rosa María Hinojosa de Ballí. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office.

approved, Vicente transferred title of twelve leagues to her, and she named the property Ojo del Agua, but that gift was never recognized by the state and the tract subsequently became Texas school lands. She applied in the name of her son Juan José for seventy-two leagues in the San Salvador del Tule grant and bought the Las Casteñas tract from



the original grantees for her son José María. She made a joint application with her son Padre Nicolás who eventually became her business associate, for eleven leagues of what is now Padre Island. When reapplication was required in 1800, Doña Rosa withdrew her name in favor of her grandson.

She oversaw her lands from her La Feria ranch headquarters, La Florida, in what is now Cameron County. She amassed large herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, and her ranches were territorial landmarks. Doña Rosa was perhaps the most influential woman of her time and place. She took full advantage of the opportunities that only widows could enjoy in



Map of Starr, Hidalgo, Willacy, and Cameron Counties.

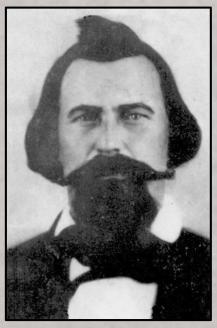
Spanish society. Devoutly Catholic, she built and maintained a family chapel and endowed churches in Reynosa, Camargo, and Matamoros. At the time of her death in Reynosa in 1803, she owned more than a million acres of land in the lower Rio Grande valley, and her holdings extended into the territories of present-day Hidalgo, Cameron, Willacy, Starr, and Kenedy counties.

## James Taylor White

18

Mickie Baldwin

James Taylor White (known as Taylor White), cattleman and rancher, son of John and Sarah (Gambel) White, was born on July 28, 1789, in Louisiana. During the 1780s his family probably moved to Louisiana from the Carolinas, where his grandfather had received a land grant in 1757. Taylor White married Sarah Cade, daughter of James and Polly (Nichols) Cade, on January 26, 1813, at St. Martin of Tours Church in St. Martinville, Louisiana. In 1828 White drove his small herd of Spanish, or longhorn, cattle along the old Opelousas Road to Texas; he settled near Turtle Bayou. His cattle grazed on land bordered on the west by Galveston Bay and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. The **Turtle Bayou Resolutions** were signed near his home. By 1840 White had acquired 4,605 acres of land in Liberty (now Chambers) County and paid taxes on 1,775 head of cattle and forty-five horses. During the late 1830s or early 1840s, White began driving cattle to New Orleans. He



James Taylor White.

deposited money from the sales of these cattle at banks in New Orleans and eventually put much of it back into the business of raising cattle. He attributed his success to his hard work and single-mindedness. He was also known to be innovative in his techniques. For example, he burned the land periodically to make way for new grass for his animals, a practice unheard of in his time. White came to be known as the Cattle King of Southeast Texas. Two cattle brands, the JTW and the Crossed W, have been associated with White's Texas ranching operation. The Crossed W was reportedly willed to White by his father, also a cattleman, who died in 1806. Some sources claim that as of the late 1930s, both were among the oldest continuously used cattle brands in the state. James Taylor White and his wife had seven children. He died, probably of cholera, in March 1852 at his home. In a nearby family plot he is buried with his wife, who died nine days later.



## Oliver Loving

19

#### Julia Cauble Smith

Oliver Loving, cattle driver, son of Joseph and Susannah Mary (Bourland) Loving, was born in Hopkins County, Kentucky, on December 4, 1812. On January 12, 1833, he married Susan Doggett Morgan, and for the next ten years he farmed in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky. The Lovings became the parents of nine children, four of whom were born in Texas. In 1843 Loving and his brother and brother-in-law moved their families to Texas. In the **Peters colony**, Loving received 639.3 acres of land in three patents and counties—Collin, Dallas, and Parker. The family stopped for a year in Lamar County and had settled in Collin County before 1850. Loving farmed and, to feed his growing family, hauled freight. By 1855 the Lovings had moved to the future Palo Pinto County, where they ran a country store near Keechi Creek



Oliver Loving.

and ranched. The first assessment roll of Palo Pinto County, taken in 1857, listed Loving with 1,000 acres of land. To market his large herd, Loving drove them out of Texas. In 1857 he entrusted his nineteen-year-old son, William, to drive his and his neighbors' cattle to Illinois up the **Shawnee Trail**. The drive made a profit of thirty-six dollars a head and encouraged Loving to repeat the trek successfully the next year with John Durkee.

On August 29, 1860, Loving and John Dawson started a herd of 1,500 toward Denver to feed the gold miners. They crossed the Red River, met the Arkansas, and followed it to Pueblo, Colorado, where the cattle wintered. In the spring Loving sold his cattle for gold and tried to leave for Texas. Since the Civil War had broken out, the Union authorities prevented him from returning to the South until Kit (Christopher)

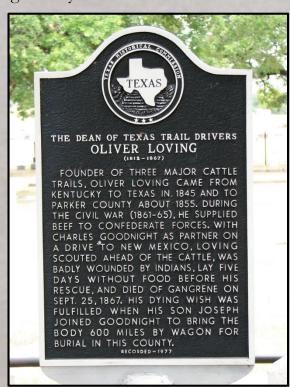
Carson and Lucien Maxwell interceded for him. During the war Loving was commissioned to drive cattle to Confederate forces along the Mississippi. When the war ended, the Confederate government reportedly owed him between \$100,000 and \$250,000. To make matters worse, the usual cattle markets were inadequate for the



available supply. In 1866, having heard about the probable need for cattle at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, where some 8,000 Indians had been settled on a reservation, Loving gathered a herd, combined it with that of **Charles Goodnight**, and began a long drive to the fort. Their route later became known as the **Goodnight-Loving Trail**, although it had been used by other cattlemen. The trail followed the path of the **Butterfield Overland Mail** to the future site of Fort Concho and turned north at the Pecos, leading to Fort Sumner and on to Denver. The two cattlemen sold beef to the army for \$12,000 in gold. Loving drove the stock cattle on to Colorado and sold them near Denver, while Goodnight returned to Weatherford, Texas, with the gold and for a second herd. The two men were reunited in southern New Mexico, where they established a ranch at Bosque Grande, about forty miles south of Fort Sumner. They spent the winter of 1866–67 there and supplied cattle from the ranch to Fort Sumner and Santa Fe.

In the spring of 1867 Loving and Goodnight returned to Texas, ready to start a new drive. The third drive was slowed by heavy rains and Indian threats. Loving went ahead of the herd for contract bidding. He took only Bill Wilson, a trusted scout, with him. Although he told Goodnight that he would travel at night through Indian country, Loving became impatient and pushed ahead during the day. His careless action

brought an Indian attack in which he was seriously wounded. The weakened Loving sent Wilson back to the herd, eluded the Indians, and with the aid of Mexican traders reached Fort Sumner, only to die there of gangrene on September 25, 1867. Before Loving died Goodnight assured him that his wish to be buried in Texas would be carried out. After a temporary burial at Fort Sumner, while Goodnight drove the herd on to Colorado, Goodnight had Loving's body exhumed and carried home. Stories differ as to who accompanied the body back to Weatherford, but he was reburied there in Greenwood Cemetery on March 4, 1868, with Masonic honors. Loving has been inducted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City. Loving County, Texas, and Loving, New Mexico, are named in his honor.



Oliver Loving Historical Marker.

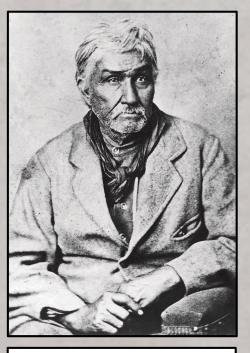


### Jesse Chisholm

20

T. C. Richardson

Jesse Chisholm, Indian trader, guide, and interpreter, was born in the Hiwassee region of Tennessee, probably in 1805 or 1806. His father, Ignatius Chisholm, was of Scottish ancestry and had worked as a merchant and slave trader in the Knoxville area in the 1790s. Around 1800 he married a Cherokee woman in the Hiwassee area, with whom he had three sons; Jesse was the eldest. Sometime thereafter Ignatius Chisholm separated from Jesse's mother and moved to Arkansas Territory. Jesse Chisholm was evidently taken to Arkansas by his mother with Tahlonteskee's group in 1810. During the late 1820s he moved to the Cherokee Nation and settled near Fort Gibson in what is now eastern Oklahoma. Chisholm became a trader and in 1836 married Eliza Edwards, daughter of James Edwards, who ran a trading post in what is now Hughes County, Oklahoma. Chisholm took trade goods west and south into Plains Indian country, learned a dozen or so languages, established small trading posts, and was soon in



Jesse Chisholm. Courtesy of the Kansas State Historical Society.

demand as a guide and interpreter. Eventually he interpreted at treaty councils in Texas, Indian Territory, and Kansas.

He was active in Texas for nearly twenty years. While president of the **Republic of Texas**, **Sam Houston**, who probably met Chisholm at Fort Gibson between 1829 and 1833, called on him to contact the prairie Indian tribes of West Texas. Chisholm played a major role as guide and interpreter for several Indian groups at the **Tehuacana Creek councils** beginning in Spring 1843, when he coaxed several tribes to the first council on Tehuacana Creek near the Torrey Brothers trading post eight miles south of the site of present Waco. Over the next year and a half he continued to offer his services to Houston, and on October 7, 1844, Chisholm got Comanches and others to attend a meeting at Tehuacana, where Houston spoke. In February 1846, while visiting the

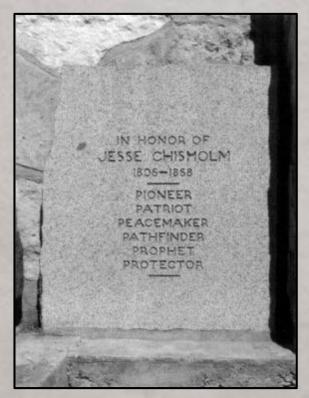


Torreys' post from a trip south of San Antonio, Chisholm was hired to bring Comanches to a council at Comanche Peak (present-day Hood County). The meeting was held on May 12. Finally, on December 10, 1850, Chisholm assembled representatives from seven tribes at a council on the San Saba River. At some of these meetings and on trading trips he was able to rescue captives held by the Indians.

By 1858 Chisholm ended his trips into Texas and confined his activities to western Oklahoma. During the <u>Civil War</u> he served the Confederacy as a trader with the Indians, but by 1864 he was an interpreter for Union officers. During the war Chisholm resided at the site of Wichita, Kansas; Chisholm Creek in the present city is named for him. In 1865, Chisholm and James R. Mead loaded a train of wagons at Fort Leavenworth and established a trading post at Council Grove on the North Canadian near the site of present Oklahoma City. Many of his Wichita friends followed, and their route later became the Chisholm Trail, which connected Texas ranches with markets on the railroad in Kansas. Chisholm attempted to arrange an Indian council at the Little Arkansas in 1865, but some tribes held out. In 1867, with the aid of Black Beaver, famous Delaware leader and guide, he induced the plains tribes to meet government representatives in a council that resulted in the Medicine Lodge Treaty. Chisholm died of food poisoning at Left Hand Spring, near the site of present Geary, Oklahoma, on April 4, 1868.

DISPOSITION OF THE INDIANS .- Mr. W Steinthal, of Fort Smith, informs us, has just returned from a trip up the Canadisn River, and states that while up in that region he met with Jess Chisholm, a Cherokee, who has been a-mong the Camanches and speaks their language. He informed Mr. S. that the Camanches wished him to say to the whites that they desired to be friendly with them, and did not intend to molest them while on their journey, but wished the whites to meet them as friends,-The Wichetaws, they say, will perhaps attempt to steal from the emigrants; but the Camanches intend meeting their white brethren and to trade with them. Chisholm represents the Camanches as becoming quite alarmed at the great number of whites, whom they are expecting to see migrating through their old hunting ground .- [ N. O. Picayune of 11th.

New Orleans *Picayune*, April 11, 1849.



Jesse Chisholm Historical Marker at the Frontier Times Museum in Bandera.



## Margaret Heffernan Borland

21

James C. McNutt

Margaret Borland, Victoria rancher, daughter of John and Julia Heffernan, was born in Ireland on April 3, 1824. The Heffernans were among the Irish colonists who arrived in Texas in 1829 with John McMullen and James McGloin and settled at San Patricio. Margaret's elder sister, Mary, was also born in Ireland; two younger brothers, John and James, were born in San Patricio. Margaret was thrice married and widowed. Her first husband, Harrison Dunbar, was killed in a private argument in Victoria soon after she bore their only child, a daughter. Margaret Dunbar married Milton Hardy several years later; Hardy died of cholera in 1855, leaving two more children with Margaret. Mrs. Hardy married Alexander Borland about 1858, a marriage that produced four children. Borland died in 1867; several of Margaret's children and grandchildren died the same year in a yellow fever epidemic. She had assisted Borland in his cattle



Margaret Heffernan Borland. Courtesy of Bonnie Fortney.

business and, after his death, assumed full responsibility for the estate. Though she left the physical labor to her hired hands, she bought and sold livestock. By 1873 she owned a herd of more than 10,000 cattle. She was said to be the only woman known to have led a cattle drive. She left her Victoria home in the spring of 1873 with two sons, both under fifteen, a seven-year-old daughter, an even younger granddaughter, a group of trail hands, and about 2,500 cattle. But after successfully reaching Wichita, Kansas, she died, on July 5, 1873, of an illness variously described as "trail fever" and "congestion of the brain." Her body was returned to Texas and buried in Victoria Cemetery.

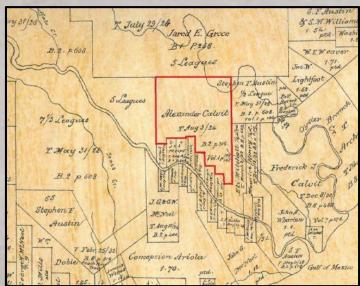
## John Hunter Herndon

22

#### **Andrew Forest Mui**

John Hunter Herndon, planter, rancher, and businessman, the son of Boswell and Barbara Herndon, was born near Georgetown, Kentucky, on July 8, 1813. After graduating from Transylvania College in both arts and law, he left Kentucky and arrived in Galveston, Texas, on January 18, 1838. During most of that year he lived in Houston, where he continued his study of law. On April 12, 1838, he was elected engrossing clerk of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas. He moved to Richmond in Fort Bend County, where he was admitted to the bar on November 23, 1838. Herndon

practiced law in the Supreme Court of Texas and the district courts of the Second Judicial District. On August 27, 1839, he married Barbara Mackall Wilkinson Calvit, the only daughter of Alexander Calvit and heir to the Calvit sugar plantation in Brazoria County. Herndon and his wife had four sons and two daughters. The plantation, near the site of present Clute, was noted for its Arabian horses and cattle herds, which were later sold to **Abel Head** (Shanghai) Pierce. Herndon owned stock ranches in Matagorda, Guadalupe, and Medina counties, engaged in real estate, and incorporated several other entrepreneurial ventures. He was a



Alexander Calvit's Land Inherited by John Hunter Herndon. Courtesy of the Texas General Land Office.

director of the Richmond Masonic Hall and trustee of the Brazoria Male and Female Academy.

He was a member of the <u>Somervell expedition</u> in 1842 and with many others turned back at the Rio Grande and escaped the <u>Black Bean Episode</u>. The 1850 census indicates that he owned real estate valued at \$100,000, the largest holding in Fort Bend County; by 1860 he had acquired \$1,605,000 in real property, \$106,050 in personal



property, and forty slaves and was thus the wealthiest man in the state. Herndon at one time owned a summer house at Velasco and is believed to have owned a million acres of Texas land. He did not serve actively in the Civil War but on March 29, 1862, was elected colonel of militia of Fort Bend and Brazoria counties. From 1862 to 1865 he was president of the Buffalo Bayou, Brazos and Colorado Railway Company. War and **Reconstruction** destroyed most of his fortune. After the war he moved to Hempstead and later



Grave of John Hunter Herndon.

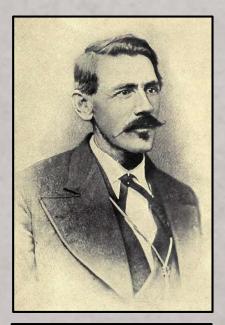
to Boerne, where he died on July 6, 1878. He was buried at Hempstead.

## John Simpson Chisum

23

Harwood P. Hinton

John Simpson Chisum, pioneer cattleman, son of Claiborne C. and Lucinda (Chisum) Chisum, was born in Hardeman County, Tennessee, on August 16, 1824. His parents were cousins. He was reared on his grandfather's plantation, one of five children, and accompanied his parents and a group of relatives to Red River County, Texas, during the summer of 1837. Claiborne Chisum, probably the earliest settler in Paris, Texas, was public-spirited and wealthy. John Chisum worked as a store clerk in Paris, served briefly as a road overseer in Hopkins County, accumulated land, operated several small grocery stores, was a member of the I.O.O.F. Lodge, and held the office of Lamar county clerk from 1852 to 1854. With Stephen K. Fowler, a New Orleans investor, he filed on land in northwestern Denton County, purchased a partnership herd, and entered the cattle business with the Half Circle P brand. Chisum also managed herds for



John Simpson Chisum.

neighboring families and various partners and shared in the calves. He became an active cattle dealer in search of markets and drove a small herd to a packing house in Jefferson. By 1860 he was running 5,000 head of cattle, which he valued at \$35,000, owned six slaves, and was considered a major cattleman in North Texas.

At the outbreak of the <u>Civil War</u> Chisum was exempted from service and placed in charge of several herds in his district. Early in 1862 he took a herd across Arkansas to the Confederate forces at Vicksburg but thereafter exhibited little interest in the Southern cause. In the fall of 1863, suffering from Indian raids and drought, he and other cowmen in the Denton area started moving herds to Coleman County, where they camped on the Concho River near its junction with the Colorado. He terminated ties with Fowler and received cattle for land. Chisum and his partners soon had 18,000 head grazing along the Colorado.





Map of John S. Chisum's Cattle Domain.

In the fall of 1866 he joined <u>Charles Goodnight</u> and others driving cattle to feed the 8,000 Navajos on the Bosque Redondo Reservation near Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Chisum wintered 600 steers near Bosque Grande, below Fort Sumner, and in the spring sold his herd and contracted to furnish additional cattle. The market vanished in 1868, when the army resettled the Navajos in Arizona. Chisum arranged to supply Goodnight, now ranching in Colorado, with Texas cattle for markets there and in Wyoming. For three years he delivered 10,000 head annually to Goodnight crews at Bosque Grande, for one dollar a head over Texas prices. During this period he adopted the Long Rail brand and the Jinglebob earmark for his herds.

In 1872 Chisum abandoned his base in Texas and established his headquarters at Bosque Grande; he claimed a range extending more than 100 miles down the Pecos. He loosed herds obtained from Robert K. Wylie, the <u>Coggin brothers</u>, and others in West Texas with his own for fattening and sought markets in New Mexico, Arizona, and Kansas. In the summer of 1874 Chisum won a contract to provide beef to several Apache reservations in New Mexico, only to have his operations crippled by marauding Indians. His total stock losses from 1868 to 1874 reached \$150,000, the largest in the nation. In November of 1875 he transferred his livestock holdings, estimated at over 60,000 head of cattle, to Hunter, Evans, and Company, a St. Louis beef-commission house, which assumed his indebtedness, mostly for Texas cattle, of over \$200,000. Chisum settled at South Spring River, near Roswell, New Mexico.



As he helped Hunter and Evans gather cattle for markets, horse thieves and renegade Indians struck branding crews and horse herds. Lincoln County authorities and the army at Fort Stanton offered little help. Simultaneously, Chisum was drawn into the Lincoln County range war of 1878 by festering difficulties generated by his attorney, Alexander A. McSween, and rancher John H. Tunstall, who defied Judge Lawrence G. Murphy's

economic stranglehold on the



John S. Chisum Monument in Roswell, New Mexico.

county. In the summer of 1878, with both Tunstall and McSween dead and the county in chaos, Chisum and Hunter and Evans cleared their cattle from the Pecos. A small herd of Jinglebob heifers, wintering on the Canadian River in the **Panhandle**, was transferred to Pitser and James Chisum, John's brothers, as payment for their years of service. In 1879 the Chisums adopted the U brand and returned to South Springs, built a comfortable ranchhouse, improved their cattle, and became active in local and territorial livestock associations.

Chisum was a major figure in the southwestern cattle industry for nearly thirty years, eighteen of which (1854–72) were in Texas. He located immense herds on the open range near running water and controlled surrounding pastures by right of occupancy. He never claimed to be a traildriver, nor did he spend much time at the ranch or on the range. Personable and shrewd, he primarily was a cattle dealer who traveled in search of markets. His colorful and eccentric life epitomized the adventurous world of openrange cattle operations that set the tone for the industry after the Civil War. Chisum was reared in the Cumberland Presbyterian faith, took no interest in politics, and never married—although it is widely believed that he fathered two daughters by one of his slaves, a woman named Jensie. He died of cancer at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, on December 22, 1884, and was buried in Paris, Texas.

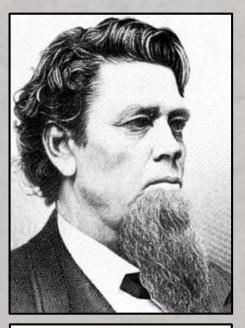


## Richard King



Bruce S. Cheeseman

Richard King, riverman, steamboat entrepreneur, livestock capitalist, and founder of the King Ranch, was born in New York City on July 10, 1824, to poor Irish parents. He was reared in Orange County, New York, until age nine, when he was indentured to a jeweler in Manhattan. He broke his apprenticeship in 1835 and shipped as a stowaway on the Desdemona for Mobile, Alabama. King was discovered, taken in as a "cabin cub," and schooled in the art of navigation by captains Hugh Monroe and Joe Holland. Between 1835 and 1841, with the exception of eight months of formal schooling with Holland's family in Connecticut, King pursued steamboating on Alabama rivers; he was a pilot by age sixteen. In 1842 he enlisted under Capt. Henry Penny for service in the Seminole War in Florida, where he met Mifflin Kenedy, who became his lifelong friend and business mentor. King plied the muddy waters of the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee rivers until 1847,

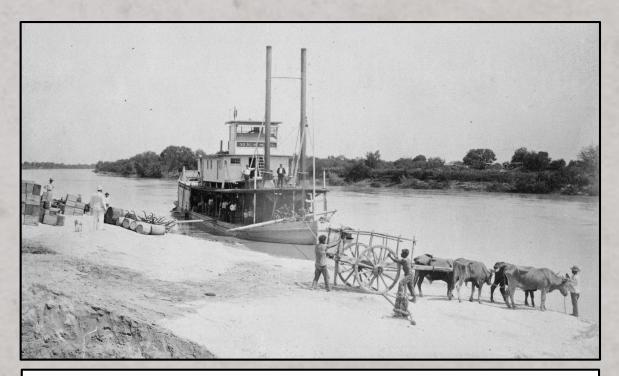


Richard King. Courtesy of the Bullock Texas History Museum.

when he joined Kenedy on the Rio Grande for <u>Mexican War</u> service. Commanding the *Colonel Cross*, he served for the war's duration transporting troops and supplies.

King remained on the border after the war and became a principal partner in the steamboat firms of M. Kenedy and Company (1850–66) and King, Kenedy and Company (1866–74). These firms dominated the Rio Grande trade on a nearly monopolistic scale for longer than two decades. By all accounts King was an experienced riverboatman and a hardy risk-taker, who thought that he could take a boat anywhere "a dry creek flows." He was also an innovator who designed specialty boats for the narrow bends and fast currents of the Rio Grande. Perhaps most of all, he was a hardened speculator, a businessman in the classic nineteenth-century mold; he saw business as having no social responsibilities, only profitable ones. As a result, he had his hand in





King's Steamboat *Bessie* on the Rio Grande (1884). Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration.

many pies with as many different associates. And of course the big pie in South Texas in the early 1850s was undeveloped land.

King began speculating in Cameron County lands and in lots in the new town of Brownsville soon after his arrival on the Rio Grande. As his cash flow increased from the success of his steamboat interests, he invested further in lands in the Nueces country. He learned early about the pitfalls of buying Spanish and Mexican titles by purchasing in 1852 what turned out to be a bogus claim to the southern half of **Padre Island**. From that time forward, he paid careful attention to the legality of land transactions, and almost all of his subsequent land acquisitions were made through his lawyers, **Stephen Powers**, **James B. Wells**, and **Robert J. Kleberg**. In several partnerships, King first bought land in the Nueces Strip in 1853, when he purchased the 15,500-acre Rincón de Santa Gertrudis grant from the heirs of Juan Mendiola, who held the land under an 1834 grant from the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico. In 1854 he purchased the 53,000-acre Santa Gertrudis de la Garza grant from José Pérez Rey, who held title under an 1808 grant from the crown of Spain. These two irregularly shaped pieces of wilderness became the nucleus around which the King Ranch grew. By the time of his death in 1885, King had made over sixty major purchases of land and amassed some 614,000 acres.



With partners James Walworth and Mifflin Kenedy, King established a livestock concern, R. King and Company, to manage the holdings, and he moved off the Rio Grande to the Nueces rancho in late 1860 to develop the ranching business. During the Civil War he and his partners entered into several contracts with the Confederate government to supply European buyers with cotton; in return they supplied the Confederates with beef, horses, imported munitions,



The Original King Ranch House.

medical supplies, clothing, and shoes. By placing their steamboat interests under Mexican registry and moving their operations into Matamoros, they for the most part successfully avoided the Union blockade and earned considerable fortunes. In an attempt to dampen this trade, Union forces captured Brownsville in late 1863 and raided the King Ranch, looting and destroying most of it on December 23. King, however, escaped before the raid and resumed business anew after the Confederates under John S. (Rip) Ford reclaimed South Texas in 1864. King went to Mexico at the war's end and returned after securing his pardon from President Andrew Johnson in late 1865.

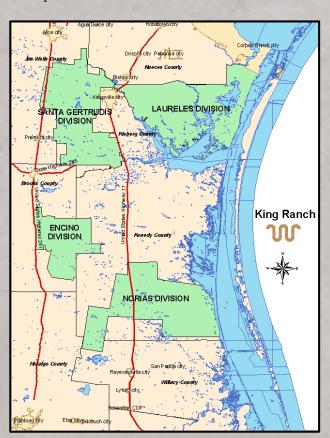
He and Kenedy dissolved their partnership in 1868 and became individual proprietors, King ranching at Santa Gertrudis and Kenedy at Los Laureles. They went on to build two of the most famous ranches in the American West. Flush with war profits, they revolutionized the economics of South Texas ranching with the introduction of fencing, cattle drives to northern markets, large-scale cattle, sheep, mule, and horse raising, and the scientific breeding of livestock. Between 1869 and 1884 King sent more than 100,000 head of livestock up the trails to northern markets, thus helping to stock the developing ranges of the American West and to establish the American ranching industry.

He brought raw American capitalism to his ranching effort. Rather than reinvent the wheel, he built his ranch on the hacienda system, which had been established in South Texas for centuries. He adopted the Hispanic legacy of *patrón-peón* "feudal" rule because



it provided reliable and cheap labor; management positions at King Ranch were reserved for non-Hispanic lieutenants. King's access to capital fueled his never-ending expansion in land and livestock. This allowed him to displace competing ranchers and landowners, both Anglo and Mexican. He believed vehemently in the concept of private property, which of course was incompatible with the open range. Consistent with his belief, he particularly despised squatters and treated them accordingly. He utilized armed force, not always legally deputized, to protect his interests against outlaw elements. He invested heavily in railroads (especially the Corpus Christi, San Diego, and Rio Grand Narrow Gauge Railroad), packing houses, ice plants, and harbor improvements at Corpus Christi, and attempted to integrate his livestock business with his other concerns. He earned a fortune because he foresaw the development of a market for his commodity, procured volume production, and attempted to control transportation and markets.

When King died at the Menger Hotel in San Antonio, he left a last instruction to his lawyer, "Not to let a foot of dear old Santa Gertrudis get away." As an Irish pioneer rancher in Hispanic South Texas, King acquired the traits of an hacendado—a paternalistic bond with his vaqueros, an identification with the ranch, and an obsession to expand landholdings. Yet he was also a product of his time, the age of manifest destiny. His name is linked to several revolutionary and filibustering efforts to form separate territories out of northern Mexico. In a letter written in 1894 to Robert Kleberg, Kenedy reminisced that "for almost fifty years, Captain King and I attempted to Americanize the border, without much success." On December 10, 1854, at Brownsville, King married Henrietta M. Chamberlain (see **KING**, **HENRIETTA CHAMBERLAIN**), who survived him



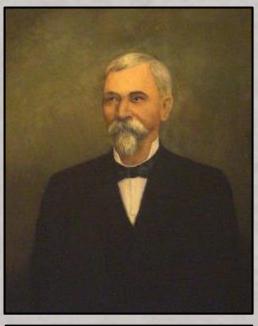
Map of the King Ranch.

and died at Santa Gertrudis on March 31, 1925. They had five children. King died on April 14, 1885, and was buried at San Antonio. In 1925 his body was reburied with his beloved wife's at Kingsville, the town established on his ranchland in 1904 and named for him.



# 25 Mifflin Kenedy John Ashton

Mifflin Kenedy, rancher, the son of John and Sarah (Starr) Kenedy, was born on June 8, 1818, at Downington, Chester County, Pennsylvania. His parents were Quakers, and he was educated in the common schools of the county and spent some time in a boarding school headed by Jonathan Gause, a Quaker educator. Kenedy taught school during the winter before his sixteenth birthday, and then, in the spring of 1834, he sailed as a cabin boy on the Star of Philadelphia, bound for Calcutta, India. In early 1836 he taught school in Coatsville, Pennsylvania, until he decided to try for employment in river navigation. He worked in a brickyard in Pittsburgh until he became a clerk on a river steamer. From 1836 to 1842 he was clerk and acting captain on steamers on the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi rivers. From 1842 to 1846 he sailed as clerk or substitute captain on the

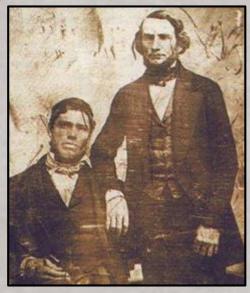


Mifflin Kennedy. Courtesy of Terry Jeanson.

Champion, plying the Apalachicola and Chattahoochie rivers. In Florida he met Richard King, who would later be his partner in steamboating and ranching in Texas. While he was in Pittsburgh for repairs on the Champion, Kenedy met Maj. John Saunders of the United States Army, an engineer who was securing boats for use by the army on the Rio Grande during the Mexican War. Kenedy was employed to assist Saunders, and, as commander of the Corvette, proceeded to New Orleans, where he enlisted as master for the duration of the Mexican War. Kenedy's experience in conducting light boats over Gulf waters made his services invaluable in his new task of transporting troops and supplies to points on the Rio Grande. At the end of the war, Kenedy formed a partnership with Samuel A. Belden and James Walworth to trade in Mexico; after the dissolution of the partnership, Kenedy alone took a pack train of goods to Monterrey for sale.



In 1850 Kenedy and King formed a steamship partnership called M. Kenedy and Company. The business included as partners Kenedy, King, Charles Stillman, and James O'Donnell. Kenedy's ranching began with the purchase of Merino sheep in Pennsylvania. Despite losses from his flock by fire and drowning en route to Texas, he saved enough sheep to have a flock of 10,000 near El Sal del Rey in Hidalgo County in 1854. He lost 75 percent of the flock before he sold what remained to John McClain in 1856. In late 1859 and early 1860 he served as captain of a company under Samuel P. Heintzelman in a campaign against Juan N. Cortina. In 1860 Kenedy and King bought into the Santa Gertrudis Ranch in South Texas as full partners. When the partnership dissolved, the



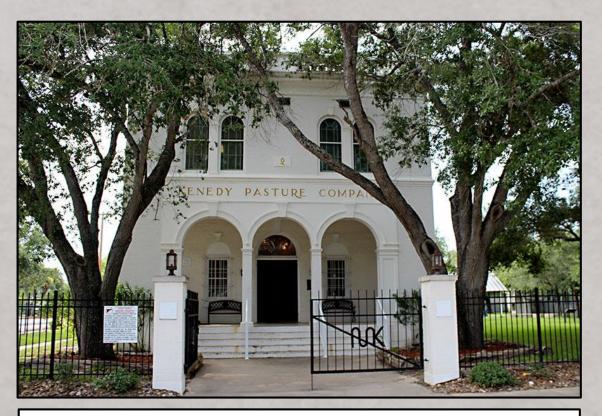
Richard King and Mifflin Kenedy.

partners took thirteen months to round up and divide their stock in cattle, sheep, goats, and mules, which ranged from the Nueces River to the Rio Grande. Upon selling his share of the partnership in 1868, Kenedy purchased the <a href="Laureles Ranch">Laureles Ranch</a>, located twenty-two miles from Corpus Christi. Cattle at that time had little value save for hides and tallow; more money was to be made in trade on the river. M. Kenedy and Company engaged in Rio Grande trade. Kenedy and King eventually bought out the other partners. At the start of the <a href="Civil War">Civil War</a> the company owned up to twenty-six boats, and during the war it was successful in shipping cotton along the Rio Grande. The steamship business continued until 1874, when they dissolved their firm and divided its assets.

Kenedy was among the first Texas ranchers to fence his lands. In 1869 he enclosed Laureles on three sides with thirty-six miles of smooth-wire fence. The ranch was expanded to contain 242,000 acres, all fenced, and was sold in 1882 to a Scottish syndicate that became known as the **Texas Land and Cattle Company**. After selling the Laureles in 1882, Kenedy bought 400,000 acres in Cameron (later Kenedy) County and named it La Parra Ranch after the wild grapevines growing there. He also fenced La Parra, using posts imported from Louisiana. At that same time he organized the Kenedy Pasture Company. Having been successful in steamboating, trading, and ranching, Kenedy in 1876 entered the field of railroad construction to help **Uriah Lott** build the Corpus Christi, San Diego and Rio Grande line from Corpus Christi to Laredo. In 1885 he supplied the money and credit for Lott to build 700 miles of the San Antonio and Aransas Pass Railway. Kenedy married Petra Vela de Vidal (*see* **KENEDY, PETRA**),



widow of Col. Luis Vidal, of Mier, Mexico, on April 16, 1852. She had six children from her previous marriage, and the Kenedys had six children of their own. Three generations used the Kenedy laurel-leaf brand. Kenedy died at Corpus Christi on March 14, 1895. Both he and his wife were buried at Brownsville. Named after Mifflin Kenedy were Kenedy, Texas, and Kenedy County.



Kenedy Ranch Museum in Sarita.

### **Abel Head Pierce**

26

Chris Emmet

Abel Head (Shanghai) Pierce, cattle raiser, the son of Jonathan and Hanna (Head) Pierce, was born on June 29, 1834, at Little Compton, Rhode Island. He had a few winters' schooling in a one-room school at Little Compton before 1848 or 1849 when he was sent to St. Petersburg, Virginia, to serve a quasiapprenticeship in the general merchandise business of his uncle, Abel Head. In June 1854 young Pierce stowed away on a schooner bound for Indianola, Texas. Discovered, he was put to work handling cargo. He landed first at Indianola and then at Port Lavaca where he met Richard Grimes and went to work on the Grimes ranch splitting rails. Pierce soon began to acquire his own cattle which he registered and branded AP. He served in Augustus C. Buchel's Confederate cavalry during the Civil War, returned to find his holdings evaporated, but continued in the cattle business, branding on the open range. He married Fanny Lacey, daughter of William D. Lacey, on September 27, 1865. They had two children. Pierce and his brother, Jonathan E. Pierce, organized a



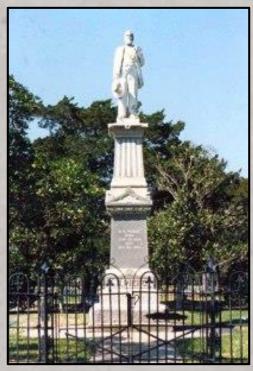
Abel Head "Shanghai" Pierce. Courtesy of Nannie Pybus.

partnership and established the Rancho Grande on the Tres Palacios River in Wharton County in 1871. The town of Pierce in Wharton County was named for them. The Pierces branded a B originally, then BB, then UU, and finally D. Later partnerships of various types were formed with J. M. Foster, Allen and Poole, B. Q. Ward, and Daniel Sullivan.

After some difficulties in Matagorda County and the death of his wife and infant son, Pierce converted his cattle into gold and went to Kansas for an eighteen-month stay. Back in Texas, he began buying land until he acquired 250,000 acres and formed the Pierce-Sullivan Pasture Company of which he was president. The company sent



thousands of cattle up the northern trails and shipped thousands by rail. In his efforts to solve the mystery of Texas fever, Pierce experimented in removing ticks and concluded that the ticks caused the fever. He toured Europe in search of a breed of cattle immune to ticks, and returned without a definite solution but with the conviction that **Brahman cattle** were most likely to be immune. In 1875 he married Hattie James. In the early 1890s he commissioned sculptor Frank Teich to create a marble statue of himself. A 6'5" likeness was eventually placed atop a ten-foot granite pilaster which was itself mounted on a ten-foot piece of gray granite. The structure later marked his grave. In 1900 Pierce lost more than \$1.25 million in the Galveston hurricane of 1900, in a bank failure, and in the purchase of the Gulf Island Railroad. On December 26, 1900, he died from a cerebral hemorrhage. He was buried in Hawley Cemetery near Bay City. After his death the Pierce estate imported Brahman cattle from India which furnished Texas with



Grave of Abel "Shanghai" Pierce.

the base stock from which large herds of Brahmans have grown.



Main House at the Rancho Grande in Wharton County.

### Daniel Waggoner

27

B. Jane England

Daniel Waggoner, rancher, son of Solomon and Elizabeth (McGaugh) Waggoner, was born in Lincoln County, Tennessee, on July 7, 1828. He moved with his family to Blackjack Grove (now Cumby) in Hopkins County, Texas, about 1848. His father, a successful farmer and cattleman who traded in horses and slaves, died in 1849. Shortly thereafter Daniel married Nancy Moore, daughter of William Moore of Hopkins County. Their only child, William Thomas Waggoner, was born on August 31, 1852. Nancy died the following year. In 1854 Daniel purchased a herd of longhorn cattle and together with his son, mother, brothers, sisters, and a fifteen-year-old slave boy, moved to a small farm of 160 acres located on Catlett Creek in Cooke County (now in Wise County). During the 1850s and 1860s western Wise County was a frontier area

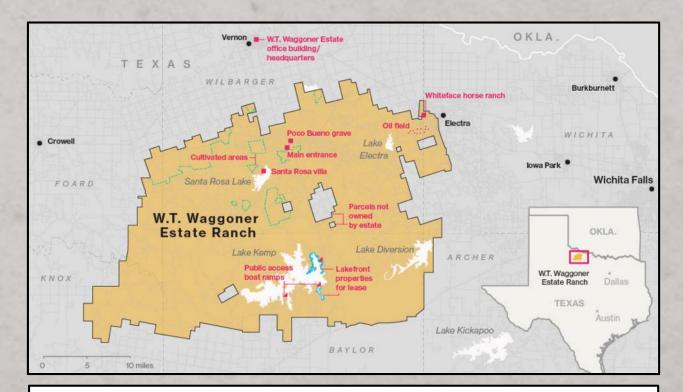


Daniel Waggoner.

frequented by hostile Indians and marauding cattle thieves. In 1856 Waggoner purchased 320 additional acres close to Cactus Hill, eighteen miles west of Decatur. His family lived near Decatur until 1859, when Daniel married Scylly (or Sicily) Ann Halsell, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Electious and Elizabeth J. Halsell. Daniel then moved his family into his log house at Cactus Hill, where they lived until after the Civil War. Waggoner was a member of the local militia and often chased after raiding Indians while Sicily and W. T. concealed themselves in the cornfield. In order to protect his family Waggoner relocated seven miles east of Decatur on Denton Creek. In 1883 he built a \$50,000 Victorian mansion, El Castile, on a rocky hill overlooking Decatur.

Daniel Waggoner carefully trained his son to handle stock and supervise the ranch. By 1870 they were partners operating under the title of D. Waggoner and Son. That spring a successful cattle drive to Kansas netted a profit of \$55,000 and provided the financial impetus for the Waggoner empire. During the next thirty years D. Waggoner and Son heavily invested in land and cattle in Wise, Wilbarger, Foard, Wichita, Baylor, Archer,





Map of the W. T. Waggoner Ranch.

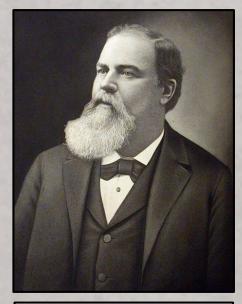
and Knox counties. Their single D brand was changed to the triple reversed D, which became the Waggoner trademark. Eventually the longhorn cattle were phased out and replaced by Hereford and Durham stock which increased the weight and value of the herds. Although he had no formal education, Waggoner was a shrewd businessman whose investments included not only land and livestock, but also five banks, three cottonseed oil mills, and a coal company. As the Waggoner holdings increased, W. T. moved the ranch headquarters to the Zacaweista Ranch south of the Red River near Vernon; Daniel, however, remained in Decatur. When he died of kidney disease in Colorado Springs, Colorado, on September 5, 1902, Daniel Waggoner owned approximately 80,000 cattle, 525,000 acres of land, and leases on more than 100,000 acres in Indian Territory. The 500,000-acre Waggoner Ranch, administered by Daniel's great-great-grandchildren in 1986, was the largest family-owned block of land in Texas.

# 28

## Christopher Columbus Slaughter

Joan Jenkins Perez

Christopher Columbus (Lum) Slaughter, ranching pioneer, banker, and philanthropist, was born on February 9, 1837, in Sabine County, Texas, one of five children of George Webb and Sarah (Mason) Slaughter; he claimed to be the first male child born of a marriage contracted under the Republic of Texas. He was educated at home and at Larissa College in Cherokee County. As a boy he worked cattle with his father and at age twelve helped drive the family's ninety-two-head herd to a ranch on the Trinity River in Freestone County, where the family moved in 1852. There, because of his expertise in herding cattle across the often swollen river, he was regularly employed by drovers bound for Shreveport with Brazos-country livestock. At age seventeen he made a trading expedition hauling timber from Anderson County to Dallas County for sale and processing Collin County wheat into flour for



Christopher Columbus Slaughter.

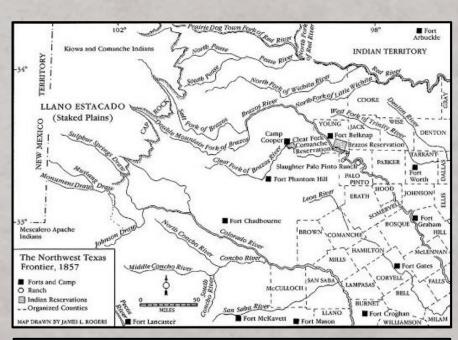
sale in Magnolia, Anderson County, a trip that yielded him a \$520 profit. With this money he bought his uncle's interest in the Slaughter herd. Having observed the better quality of the Brazos stock, he persuaded his father to move farther west. They selected a site in Palo Pinto County, well positioned to provide beef to Fort Belknap and the nearby Indian reservations, and in 1856 the younger Slaughter drove 1,500 cattle to the new ranch. In 1859, with the outbreak of open war with Indians, he volunteered his service and was in the expedition that unexpectedly liberated **Cynthia Ann Parker** from a Comanche camp. With the withdrawal of federal protection during the **Civil War**, Slaughter continued to fight Indians as a lieutenant in the **Texas Rangers**; he also served under Capt. William Peveler in Young County in the **Frontier Regiment**, part of the effort to maintain frontier protection during the war.

With the loss of the war and continued Indian harassment, Slaughter and other ranchers started for Mexico in search of new ranchland. During the expedition Slaughter suffered an accidental gunshot wound that incapacitated him for a year, causing a nearly ruinous



decline in his cattle business. After his recovery he started a cattle drive to New Orleans in late 1867, but en route contracted with a buyer for a Jefferson packery to sell his 300 steers there for thirty-five dollars a head in gold, a large sum. With his new stake he began regular drives to Kansas City in 1868, selling his herds for as much as forty-two dollars a head. He sold his Texas ranching interests in 1871 and in 1873 organized C. C. Slaughter and Company, a cattle-breeding venture, which later pioneered the replacement of the poor-bred longhorn with Kentucky-bred blooded shorthorn stock. By 1882 a herd shipped to St. Louis received seven dollars per hundred pounds.

In 1873 Slaughter moved his family to Dallas and a few years later dissolved his partnership with his father. About 1877 he established one of the largest ranches in West Texas, the Long S, on the headwaters of the Colorado River and there grazed his cattle on the public domain. Desirous of becoming a "gentleman breeder," he purchased in 1897 the Goodnight Hereford herd and the



Map with the Slaughter Palo Pinto Ranch.

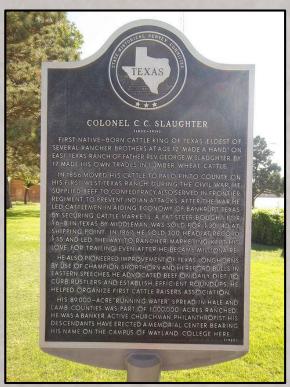
1893 Chicago World's Fair grand champion bull, Ancient Briton. In 1899 he acquired the famous Hereford bull Sir Bredwell for a record \$5,000. Through these purchases Slaughter's purebred Hereford herd became one of the finest in the business. Around 1898 Slaughter undertook a major land purchase in Cochran and Hockley counties. He bought 246,699 acres, leased more, and established the Lazy S Ranch, which he stocked with his Hereford herd and mixed breed cattle from the Long S and consigned to the management of his eldest son.

In 1877 Slaughter helped organize the Northwest Texas Cattle Raisers' Association (later the <u>Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association</u>), for which he also served a term as president (1885). He was the first president of the National Beef Producers and Butchers Association (1888), an organization formed to combat market domination by the meat-packing industry. Frequently titled the "Cattle King of Texas,"



Slaughter became one of the country's largest individual owners of cattle and land (over a million acres and 40,000 cattle by 1906) and was the largest individual taxpayer in Texas for years. For a time "Slaughter Country" extended from a few miles north of Big Spring 200 miles to the New Mexico border west of Lubbock. By 1908–09, however, he opened his Running Water and Long S Ranches to colonization and sale. Yet by 1911, much of the land reverted to his ownership upon the failure of the land company promoting colonization there, and under the management of Jack Alley, it was restored to profitability by 1915. Slaughter maintained strict control over his operations until 1910, when he suffered a broken hip that crippled him for the remainder of his life, compounding problems caused by his failing eyesight. He consequently turned the business over to his eldest son, George.

In addition to ranching, Slaughter participated in banking in Dallas where he helped organize City Bank in 1873 and invested in the bank's reorganization as City National Bank in 1881; at that time he became its vice president. In 1884 he helped establish the American National Bank, which evolved by 1905 into the American Exchange National Bank (later First National Bank). He was vice president from its organization until his death. On December 5, 1861 (possibly 1860), Slaughter married Cynthia Jowell of Palo Pinto, Texas; they had five children. After being widowed in 1876, he married Carrie A. Averill (Aberill) in Emporia, Kansas, on January 17, 1877; they had four children. Slaughter was a Democrat and Baptist; he contributed two-thirds of the cost for the construction of the First Baptist Church in Dallas and served as vice president of the



Christopher Columbus Slaughter Historical Marker.

Southern Baptist Convention, as president of the state Mission Board (1897–1903), and as an executive board member of the Baptist General Convention of Texas (1898–1911). His support of a plan to retire the consolidated debt of seven Texas Baptist schools and coordinate their activities into a system capped by Baylor University assured its acceptance by the general convention in 1897. Slaughter also contributed generously to the establishment of the Texas Baptist Memorial Sanitarium (later Baylor Hospital) in Dallas. He died at his home in Dallas on January 25, 1919.



### Cornelia Wadsworth Adair

29

Nancy Baker Jones

Cornelia Wadsworth Adair, diarist and rancher, the second of the six children of Gen. James Samuel and Mary Craig (Wharton) Wadsworth, was born on April 6, 1837, in Philadelphia. She spent her early years at Hartford House, her father's country estate near Geneseo, New York. In 1855 the family left for a two-year sojourn in France and England. Soon after their return in 1857 Cornelia married Montgomery Ritchie, a grandson of Harrison Otis of Boston. Two sons were born to them. Her father and her husband died in 1864. The widowed Cornelia took her two small sons to Paris, where the older son died a few years later.



Cornelia Wadsworth Adair.

In 1867, while attending a ball in New York City given in honor of Congressman J. C. Hughes,

Cornelia Ritchie met broker John G. Adair of Ireland. They were married in 1869 and afterward divided their time between America and their estates in England and Ireland. In the fall of 1874 they left Ireland to see the American West and to experience a buffalo hunt along the South Platte River in Nebraska and northeastern Colorado. Her brother had served as an aide to Philip H. Sheridan, and Cornelia Adair probably used the general's influence to obtain a military escort under Col. Richard Irving Dodge to accompany the party, which departed from Sydney Barracks in Nebraska Territory. She kept a detailed diary of the two-month journey, which included attending a council of cavalry officers and Oglala Sioux, near the South Platte. In 1918 she had it published.

In the summer of 1877, when her husband and <u>Charles Goodnight</u> formed a partnership to found the <u>JA Ranch</u>, Cornelia accompanied the party from Pueblo, Colorado, to the new ranch headquarters Goodnight had established in Armstrong



County, Texas. Because the Adairs lived at the ranch only sporadically, Goodnight became its manager and, under orders from Cornelia Adair, paid high salaries for experienced, law-abiding ranchhands. After Adair died in 1885, Cornelia became Goodnight's partner. In 1887 she traded a second ranch for his one-third interest in the JA, a share that comprised 336,000 acres, 48,000 cattle, assorted mules, horses, and equipment, and rights to the JA brand. Although she was a naturalized British subject and spent most of her time in Ireland, Cornelia Adair also maintained a home



Cornelia Wadsworth Adair.

in Clarendon and contributed generously to various civic projects in the vicinity of the JA Ranch, which by 1917 covered half a million acres. She provided funds to build the Adair Hospital and the first YMCA building in Clarendon and strongly supported that community's Episcopal church. She also vigorously promoted the Boy Scout movement since she knew Lord Baden-Powell and many other of its British organizers. She died on September 22, 1921, and was buried next to her husband in Ireland. In 1984 the Adairs' Glenveagh Castle, which sheltered Belgian refugees during World War I, became an Irish national park.

### Henrietta Chamberlain King

30

Edgar P. Sneed

Henrietta Maria Morse Chamberlain King, rancher and philanthropist, the only child of Maria (Morse) and Hiram

Chamberlain, was born on July 21, 1832, in Boonville, Missouri. Her mother's death in 1835 and her father's Presbyterian missionary work in Missouri and

Tennessee often made her childhood lonely; as a result she became strongly self-reliant and introspective, and she maintained close attachments to her family. She attended Female Institute of Holly Springs, Mississippi, for two years, beginning when she was fourteen. She



Henrietta Chamberlain King.

moved to Brownsville, Texas, probably in 1849, for she was living there when her father organized the first Presbyterian mission in South Texas at Brownsville, on February 23, 1850. In 1854 she taught briefly at the **Rio Grande Female Institute** before her marriage to **Richard King** on December 10, 1854; they had five children. In 1854 Henrietta and Richard King established their home on the Santa Gertrudis Ranch (see **KING RANCH**). Their original dwelling was a mud and stick jacal, but this was eventually replaced with a house overlooking Santa Gertrudis Creek. Not only was Henrietta King wife and mother, but she also was supervisor of housing and education for the families of Mexican-American ranchhands. During the **Civil War** the ranch was an official receiving station for cotton that was ferried first to Mexican ports and then on to England. When King left the ranch to escape capture by Union forces in 1863, a pregnant Henrietta remained. After the house was plundered she moved the family to San Antonio until they could safely return home. Upon her husband's death in 1885 Mrs. King assumed full ownership of his estate, consisting chiefly of 500,000 acres of ranchland between Corpus Christi and Brownsville and \$500,000 in debts.





Main House at the King Ranch. Courtesy of the San Antonio Express-News.

Under Henrietta King's skillful and personal supervision, and with the assistance of her son-in-law, Robert Justus Kleberg, the King Ranch was freed of debt and increased in size. By 1895 the 650,000-acre ranch was engaged in experiments in cattle and horse breeding, in range grasses, and in dry and irrigated farming. That year King gave Kleberg her power of attorney and increased his ranch responsibilities. The ranch continued to grow, reaching a size of 1,173,000 acres by 1925. One of the horses bred at the ranch won the Triple Crown in 1946. The Santa Gertrudis cattle developed there were a boon to the Texas cattle industry because of their resistance to disease and heat. King was also interested in the settlement of the region between Corpus Christi and Brownsville. About 1903 she offered 75,000 acres of right-of-way to Uriah Lott and Benjamin Franklin Yoakum, who planned to construct the St. Louis, Brownsville and Mexico Railway. In 1904 she furnished townsites for Kingsville and Raymondville, located on the railway. She founded the Kleberg Town and Improvement Company and the Kingsville Lumber Company to sell land and materials to settlers in Kingsville. As the town grew she invested in the Kingsville Ice and Milling Company, Kingsville Publishing Company, Kingsville Power Company, Gulf Coast Gin Company, and Kingsville Cotton Oil Mill Company. She constructed the First Presbyterian Church building there and also donated land for Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, and Catholic churches; she constructed a public high school and presented it to the town. Among her many charities were donations of land for the Texas-Mexican Industrial Institute and



for the Spohn Sanitarium (see SPOHN HOSPITAL). In her last years she provided land and encouragement for the establishment of South Texas State Teachers College (now Texas A&M University–Kingsville). Henrietta King died on March 31, 1925, on the King Ranch and was buried in Kingsville. At her funeral an honor guard of 200 vaqueros, riding quarter horses branded with the ranch's Running W, flanked the hearse. Each rider cantered once around the open grave.



Grave of Henrietta Chamberlain King. Courtesy of David N. Lotz.



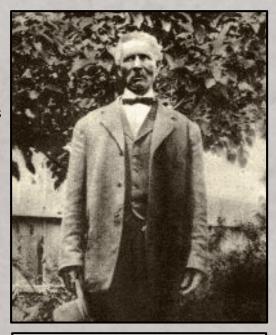
### **Bose Ikard**

31

#### Joseph Andrew Blackman

Bose Ikard was born a slave in July 1843 in Noxubee County, Mississippi, and became one of the most famous black frontiersmen and traildrivers in Texas. He lived in Union Parish, Louisiana, before his master, Dr. Milton Ikard, moved to Texas in 1852. Several months later Bose helped Ikard's wife, Isabella (Tubb), move the family's belongings and five children to their new home in Lamar County and soon afterwards to Parker County. The young slave grew to adulthood with his owner's family, learning to farm, ranch, and fight Indians as the Civil War drew near.

The war left Bose a free man, and in 1866 he went to work for <u>Oliver Loving</u> as a traildriver. After Loving was killed by Comanche Indians in New Mexico, Ikard continued in the service of Loving's



Bose Ikard.

partner, <u>Charles Goodnight</u>, for four years. The two men became lifelong friends. Goodnight later commented that he trusted Bose Ikard "farther than any living man. He was my detective, banker, and everything else in Colorado, New Mexico, and the other wild country I was in."

In 1869 Ikard wanted to settle in Colorado, but Goodnight persuaded him to buy a farm in Parker County, Texas, because there were so few blacks in Colorado. Ikard settled in Weatherford and began his family at a time when Indian attacks were still common in North Texas. In 1869 he participated in a running battle with **Quanah Parker**'s Comanche band, riding alongside his former master, Milton Ikard. Bose married a woman named Angelina in 1869 or 1870, and they had fifteen children. In his later years he attended several cowboy reunions. Goodnight visited him in Weatherford whenever the opportunity arose and gave him presents of money. Ikard died in Austin on January 4, 1929. After his burial in Greenwood Cemetery, Weatherford, Goodnight bought a



granite marker and wrote an epitaph for his old friend: "Bose Ikard served with me four years on the Goodnight-Loving Trail, never shirked a duty or disobeyed an order, rode with me in many stampedes, participated in three engagements with Comanches, splendid behavior."



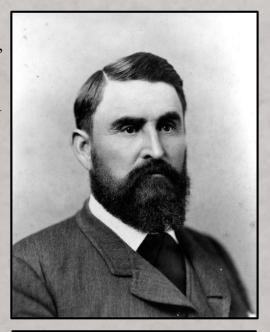
Bose Ikard Historical Marker.

### Charles Goodnight

32

H. Allen Anderson

Charles Goodnight, rancher, the fourth of five children of Charles and Charlotte (Collier) Goodnight, was born on March 5, 1836, on the family farm in Macoupin County, Illinois. His father died of pneumonia in 1841 when Charles was five, and shortly thereafter his mother married Hiram Daugherty, a neighboring farmer. In all, Charles had only six months of formal schooling. Late in 1845 he accompanied his family on the 800-mile trek south to a site in Milam County, Texas, near Nashville-on-the-Brazos, riding bareback on a white-faced mare named Blaze. He later took pride in the fact that he was born at the same time as the **Republic of Texas** and that he "joined" Texas the year it joined the Union. Growing up in the Brazos bottoms, the boy learned to hunt and track from an old Indian named Caddo Jake. At age eleven Charles began hiring out to



Charles Goodnight. Courtesy of the Portal to Texas History.

neighboring farms, and at fifteen he rode as a jockey for a racing outfit at Port Sullivan. Not satisfied with that occupation, he returned to his widowed mother and younger siblings, continued at various farm and plantation jobs, including supervision of black slave crews, and for two years freighted with ox teams. In 1853 his mother married Rev. Adam Sheek, a Methodist preacher; that led to the formation of the partnership three years later between Charles and his step-brother, John Wesley Sheek. Although they considered going to California, they were dissuaded by Sheek's brother-in-law, Claiborne Varner, who induced them to run about 400 head of cattle on shares along the Brazos valley for a ten-year period. In 1857 the young partners trailed their herd up the Brazos to the Keechi valley in Palo Pinto County. At Black Springs they built a log cabin buttressed with stone chimneys, to which they brought their parents in 1858. Goodnight continued freighting cotton and provisions to Houston and back for a time until Wes Sheek married, then assumed the bulk of responsibility of looking after the growing herd of scrawny, wild Texas cattle. With his acquired hunting and trailing skills, he quickly



mastered the modes of survival in the wilderness. During this time he became acquainted with <u>Oliver Loving</u>, who was also running cattle in the Western Cross Timbers. When the gold rush to Colorado began, Goodnight helped Loving send a herd through the Indian Territory and Kansas to the Rocky Mountain mining camps.

As Indian troubles in Northwest Texas increased, concurrent with heated conflict over the reservations on the upper Brazos and Clear Fork, Goodnight and his neighbors joined forces with Capt. Jack (J. J.) Cureton's rangers, with whom he served as a scout and guide. It was Goodnight who found the trail leading to **Peta Nocona**'s Comanche encampment on the Pease River in December 1860 and brought word of it back to Cureton and Capt. Lawrence Sullivan (Sul) Ross. He guided the rangers to the Indian camp and took part in the attack on December 18 in which **Cynthia Ann Parker** was recaptured. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Cureton's rangers, including Goodnight, were attached to the Frontier Regiment. Goodnight spent most of the war chasing marauding Indians and border toughs while ranging from the Canadian to the Colorado and Brazos headwaters



Cynthia Ann Parker.

with the likes of <u>James E. McCord</u>, <u>James B. (Buck) Barry</u>, and <u>A. T. Obenchain</u>. The intimate knowledge he gained of the vast rolling prairies and <u>Llano Estacado</u> later proved useful.

At the expiration of his term of service in 1864, Goodnight returned to Palo Pinto County, where he and other cowmen spent the next year trying to recoup their cattle business from the chaos that characterized the frontier during that era. He sought out a new range along Elm Creek, in Throckmorton County, where Indians ran off nearly 2,000 head of his cattle in September 1865. Since cattle markets in Texas were poor at that time, Goodnight looked for a higher price at the Indian agencies and army posts in New Mexico, where beef was in demand. In the spring of 1866 he and Loving organized a drive from Fort Belknap southwest to the Pecos River at Horsehead Crossing and up that stream to Fort Sumner, where they sold their steers to feed the Indians beef at eight cents a pound. Eighteen cowhands, including Bose Ikard, Robert Clay Allison, and "One-Armed" Bill Wilson, participated in the venture, for which



Goodnight assembled and utilized the first chuckwagon. The route they laid off became known as the Goodnight-Loving Trail, later one of the Southwest's most heavily used cattle trails. At the end of their third trip to Fort Sumner in 1867, Loving died from wounds he received in a fight with Indians, but Goodnight continued to divide the trail earnings with his old partner's family in Weatherford and later had his body taken back there for burial. Throughout the late 1860s Goodnight contracted for delivery of herds on the Pecos, usually at Bosque Grande, below Fort Sumner. He also received herds from John S. **Chisum** and other Texas cowmen, drove thousands of cattle into Colorado and Wyoming, and sold them to such ranchers as John Wesley Iliff and the Thatcher brothers for the purpose of stocking northern ranges. Goodnight's herds were not immune from attacks by bandits and Indians,



John Simpson Chisum.

especially during the height of the illicit trade with <u>Comancheros</u>. In the winter of 1869 he established his Rock Canon Ranch on the Arkansas River five miles west of Pueblo, Colorado, and registered a PAT brand for his cattle. It was around that time that people started calling him "Colonel."

On July 26, 1870, Goodnight married Molly Dyer, his longtime sweetheart, who had taught school at Weatherford (see GOODNIGHT, MARY ANN DYER). After the wedding at the home of relatives in Hickman, Kentucky, the newlyweds returned to the Rock Canon, which was their home for the next six years. Goodnight continued driving cattle and in 1871 worked with John Chisum to clear a profit of \$17,000. In addition he farmed with irrigation, planted an apple orchard, and invested heavily in farmlands and city lots in Pueblo. Among other services he helped found the Stock Growers' Bank of Pueblo and was part owner of the opera house, a meat-packing facility at Las Animas, and other businesses in the area. Along with neighboring cattlemen such as Henry W. (Hank) Cresswell and the Thatchers, he formed Colorado's first



Mary Ann "Molly" Goodnight.

stock raisers' association in November 1871 and in 1875 laid out the Goodnight Trail from Alamogordo Creek in New Mexico to Granada, Colorado. However, overstocked



ranges, coupled with the panic of 1873, resulted in the loss of his holdings. To alleviate the financial crisis Goodnight sought a virgin grassland.

After sending his wife to relatives in California until he could settle his affairs, in the fall of 1875 he gathered the remnant of his longhorn cattle, some 1,600 head, and moved them to a campsite on the upper Canadian River at Rincón de las Piedras, New Mexico, for the winter. With a Mexican cowhand named Panchito (Little Frank), he investigated the vast **Panhandle** of Texas, recently cleared of hostile Indians, and decided on Palo Duro Canyon as the ideal spot for a ranch. After returning to Pueblo to borrow money, he remained with his men at the New Mexico campsite through the calving season before moving down the Canadian to its junction with Alamocitos Creek, near the future site of Tascosa, where they spent most of the summer. Before leaving, Goodnight made a pact with **Casimero** Romero in which the *pastores* of New Mexico agreed to limit their operations to the Canadian and its tributaries, while Goodnight would have exclusive



Casimero Romero and Son. Courtesy of the Oldham County Cemetery Records Preservation Group.

use of the headwaters and canyons of the Red River. After securing the services of Nicolás Martínez, a one-time Comanchero who knew all of the old Indian trails, the Goodnight outfit moved east to Tecovas Springs before turning southeast across the tableland to Palo Duro Canyon. On October 23, 1876, they reached the edge of the canyon in Randall County and set up camp. Among the members of this first cattle outfit in the Panhandle were James T. Hughes, son of the English author Thomas Hughes; J. C. Johnston, later a director of the Matador Ranch; Leigh Richmond Dyer, Goodnight's brother-in-law; an Irishman named Dave McCormick; and Panchito. They remained on the rim with the cattle while Goodnight and Martínez located a route into the canyon and a site for the ranch headquarters. Since **buffalo** were still fairly plentiful below the canyon walls, the cowboys were kept busy driving them back for about fifteen miles to make room for the cattle. They spent two days portaging supplies by muleback and herding the cattle down the steep, rugged trail. Within the bounds of the present Palo Duro Canyon State Scenic Park, Goodnight constructed his first temporary living quarters, a dugout topped with cottonwood and cedar logs, with abandoned Comanche lodge poles as rafters. Subsequently, farther to the southeast in Armstrong County, where the

canyon floor widened out for ten miles or more, the colonel built a comfortable three-room ranchhouse from native timber without using any nails. He also built corrals and a picket smokehouse at the site, which he affectionately dubbed the Home Ranch.

Leaving Leigh Dyer in charge of the outfit, Goodnight went with Martínez to Las Animas to purchase more needed supplies and provisions. In February 1877 he returned via Camp Supply and Fort Elliott to check up on his men. On Commission Creek, near Fort Elliott, he met with the outlaw gang of "Dutch" Henry Born and struck up a bargain, sealed with a drink, in which their leader promised to keep his activities north of the Salt Fork of the Red River. After finding things satisfactory at the Home Ranch, Goodnight returned to Colorado to secure more capital and arrange to bring his wife out to the new homestead. In Denver he met with John G. Adair at the latter's brokerage firm, from which the colonel had borrowed \$30,000 in March 1876. Adair agreed to help expand the ranch into a large-scale operation, and in May 1877 the Goodnights and Adairs, along with four cowboys, arrived at the Home Ranch with 100 Durham bulls and four wagons loaded with provisions. On June 18 they drew up the five-year



Henry Born.

contract that launched the JA Ranch, with Goodnight retaining one-third interest and an annual salary of \$2,500 as resident manager. During his eleven years with the JA, Goodnight devoted his time and energy to expanding the range, building up the herd, and establishing law and order in the Panhandle. In the summer of 1878 he took the first JA trail herd, led by his famous lead steer Old Blue, north to Dodge City, Kansas, then the nearest railhead. The Palo Duro-Dodge City Trail, which he blazed, was well-used in subsequent years by many Panhandle ranchers. Late that fall, when destitute Indians from the reservations came to hunt the now-scarce buffalo, Goodnight made his famous treaty with Quanah Parker in which he promised two beeves every other day for Parker's followers provided they did not disturb the JA herd. In 1879 Goodnight moved the JA headquarters to its present location. Although he strictly enforced his rules against gambling, drinking, and fighting, he usually was able to hire the cowboys he needed. In 1880 Goodnight helped organize and served as first president of the Panhandle Stock Association in Mobeetie. Two years later he bought the Quitaque (Lazy F) Ranch and reportedly became the first Panhandle

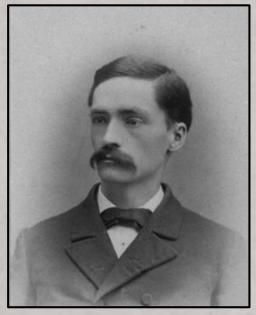


rancher to build fences of barbed wire. Though John Adair's arrogant mannerisms sometimes tried the Colonel's patience, he maintained a warm relationship with Mrs. Adair, and in 1882 the partnership was renewed and Goodnight's annual salary was increased to \$7,500. By the time of Adair's death in 1885, the JA had reached its maximum of 1,325,000 acres, on which grazed more than 100,000 head of Goodnight's carefully bred cattle. In addition, Goodnight was a pioneer in the use of artificial watering facilities and the ownership of permanent ranges in fee. As an early believer in improvement through breeding, he developed one of the nation's finest herds through the introduction of Hereford bulls. He often spent weeks at a time at the stockyards of Kansas City, buying and selling cattle to upgrade his herds. With his wife's encouragement, he also started a domestic buffalo herd, sired by a bull he named Old Sikes, from which he developed the "cattalo" by crossing bison with polled Angus cattle. He also invented the first practical sidesaddle, with an additional horn to rest the left knee, for his wife.

In 1886 Goodnight, with two big-city partners, began investing in the Inter-State Land Company, for which he sold shares in land along the Texas-New Mexico border purchased from the Beales-Royuela grant, an old Spanish land grant. At the same time he became involved in the **Grass Lease Fight**, from which he emerged as a leader for the big cattlemen's interests. For his efforts in that controversy, Goodnight was severely censured by the press and accused of robbing money from the schoolchildren of Texas. What was more, he felt pressured to reduce his holdings to cope better with the rapid changes that were being imposed on the cattle industry from the recent drought, falling beef prices, and the advent of railroads and farmers to the Panhandle. For these reasons, along with a stomach ailment that almost proved fatal, Goodnight decided to sell out his interest in the JA after the second contract expired in 1887 and limit his ranching activities. In the division of the properties, he retained interest in the Quitaque Ranch, half of which he sold to L. R. Moore of Kansas City. Even so, Mrs. Adair retained his services as manager of the JA until 1888, when John C. Farrington succeeded him. Soon after his exit from the JA ownership, Goodnight bought 160 sections in Armstrong County near the Fort Worth and Denver City line, including the Sacra-Sugg Ranch on the Salt Fork and some school land. Near the town that bears his name he built his spacious, two-story ranchhouse, into which he and his wife moved on December 27, 1887. This small ranch, to which he relocated his buffalo herd of 250 head, was formally organized as the Goodnight-Thayer Cattle Company, with J. W. (Johnnie) Martin as foreman and later as a junior partner. After selling his remaining interest in the Quitaque to Moore in 1890, Goodnight, in association with William McCamey and Avery L. Matlock, invested heavily in a Mexican gold and silver mining venture deep in the



mountains of southern Chihuahua; that enterprise proved a failure. Furthermore, his investments in the Inter-State Land Company reduced his fortune considerably after federal courts declared the Beales-Royuela grant invalid. In 1893 he was among the cowmen compensated in part for losses they suffered to the Comanchero trade during the 1860s. As civic leaders and promoters of the higher education he was denied, the colonel and his wife opened Goodnight College at Goodnight in 1898. After selling out his interest in the Goodnight-Thayer Company in 1900, Goodnight limited his ranching activities to sixty sections surrounding his house and near the railroad. There he continued his experiments with buffalo and also kept elk, antelope, and various other animals in zoo-like



Avery L. Matlock.

enclosures, as well as different species of fowl. The Goodnight Ranch became a major Panhandle tourist attraction and featured buffalo meat on its menus. Buffalo from the Goodnight herd were shipped to zoos in New York and other eastern cities, Yellowstone National Park, and even to Europe, and Goodnight's wildlife-preservation efforts gained the attention of such naturalists as William T. Hornaday, Edmund Seymour, and Ernest Thompson Seton. As a friend of Quanah Parker and other Plains Indian leaders in Oklahoma, Goodnight staged occasional buffalo hunts for former braves. He also exchanged visits with the Pueblo tribes in New Mexico, endorsed their causes in Congress, and gave one tribe a foundation buffalo herd. In addition, he grew Armstrong County's first wheat crop and conducted other agricultural experiments with the encouragement of the pioneer botanist Luther Burbank; indeed, the colonel was often called the "Burbank of the Range."

Though the Goodnights had no children of their own, they often boarded college students, whom they hired to do secretarial work and other chores. They employed a woman as a housekeeper in 1905 and subsequently reared her son, Cleo Hubbard, as their own. After his wife's death in April 1926, Goodnight fell seriously ill but was soon nursed back to health by Corinne Goodnight, a young nurse and telegraph operator from Butte, Montana, with whom he had been corresponding because of their mutual surnames. On March 5, 1927, the Colonel celebrated his ninety-first birthday by marrying the twenty-six-year-old Corinne at the home of Mayor Henry W.



Taylor, Goodnight's nephew, in Clarendon. Shortly afterward they sold the ranch, with the stipulation that he could live there for the rest of his life, and bought a summer house in Clarendon. Goodnight spent his last winters in Phoenix, Arizona, because of his delicate condition. As a living frontier legend, he was often interviewed by Western authors and journalists, as well as such scholar-historians as Lester F. Sheffy, Harley T. Burton, and J. Evetts Haley. Not until July 1929 did he officially join a church, even though he had helped found churches at Goodnight years before. On the morning of December 12, 1929, Goodnight died at his winter home in Phoenix at the age of ninety-three. He was buried next to his first wife in the Goodnight community cemetery.

Laura V. Hamner published a biographical novel of Goodnight, *The No-Gun Man of Texas*, in 1935,



Grave of Charles and Mary Ann Dyer Goodnight. Courtesy of Gary Riner.

but J. Evetts Haley's monumental publication, *Charles Goodnight: Comman and Plainsman*, which first appeared in 1936, remains the standard scholarly work on the man. Goodnight's papers are housed in the Research Center of the **Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum** in Canyon, where several Goodnight artifacts donated by Cleo Hubbard and his family are on display. Streets in several Panhandle towns bear his name, as do the Charles Goodnight Memorial Trail and the highway to Palo Duro Canyon State Scenic Park, which includes a restored dugout thought to have been his first 1876 quarters. The Goodnight ranchhouse, owned since 1933 by the Mattie Hedgecoke estate of Amarillo, still stands near U.S. Highway 287. In 1958 Goodnight was one of the original five voted into the National Cowboy Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City.

# 33

# George Washington Saunders

**Roland S. Jary** 

George W. Saunders, cattleman, the son of Thomas Bailey and Elizabeth Emily (Harper) Saunders, was born in Rancho, Texas, on February 12, 1854, the sixth of eleven children. His father had moved from Fayetteville, North Carolina, to Gonzales in 1850. By December 1859 the family had resettled in Goliad County, where young George helped run the family ranch, located twelve miles from Goliad. On his tenth birthday his father gave him ten calves, branded with the Half-circle Ten to distinguish his cattle from those of his brothers. He attended Covey's College at Concrete. George began driving cattle in 1871 to Kansas and drove many more to the Texas Gulf Coast, New Orleans, Mexico, and northern markets. In 1874-75 he became a member of Henry Scott's Minute Company of Refugio, which patrolled the Mexican border. In 1873 Saunders served as deputy sheriff under James Burk of Goliad. On July 15, 1874, he married Rachel Reeves; they had two daughters and a son who died in infancy. Within six years the family had moved from Clip to San Antonio,



George Washington Saunders. Courtesy of the University of Texas Press.

seeking special medical attention for Rachel, who died on February 8, 1883. During his wife's illness Saunders operated a hack line in San Antonio and did a prosperous business. Soon after her death he sold the line and, with Harry Fawcett, purchased the Narcisso Leal Live Stock Commission business, with offices opposite the Southern Hotel on Dolorosa Street. After a year of profitable business Saunders sold the commission company and began driving horses to northern markets. He returned to San Antonio in 1886 and entered the livestock-commission business in a company registered as Smith, Oliver, and Saunders. Two years later he started his own firm, and by 1910 incorporated the George W. Saunders Livestock Commission Company with offices in San Antonio, Fort Worth, Kansas City, and St. Louis. His company grossed \$5 million each year. On January 1, 1889, he married Ida Friedrich; they had one daughter. When the George W. Saunders Live Stock Commission Company dissolved in 1958, it



reportedly was the oldest livestock-commission firm operating continuously under the same name in Texas. In addition to his business interests Saunders supervised the management of four ranches and a farm of 700 acres.

Saunders's personal letters of that time included communication with Queen Marie of Romania, Will Rogers, J. Marvin Hunter, J. Evetts Haley, and artists Will James and John Gutzon Borglum. All recognized his expertise on the cattle industry. He was largely



Trail Drivers' Memorial in San Antonio by John Gutzon Borglum.

responsible for bringing Borglum to San Antonio in 1925 to sculpt the Trail Drivers' Memorial, Borglum's major Texas work. The model of the Trail Drivers' monument, unveiled in January 1926, was cast in bronze in 1940 and displayed outside Pioneer Hall near the Witte Museum. Saunders initiated one of the rodeo's most popular competitive events, roping, at the San Antonio Fair of 1892. He was instrumental in the construction in 1889 of the Union Station Stock Yards of San Antonio, which he later served as a director and general manager. As alderman of Ward Two in San Antonio in 1913 and 1914 he authored several beneficial ordinances regulating the affairs of the city and was an outstanding participant in its improvement when more than \$3.5 million of bonds were sold for that purpose. During World War I he served on the local exemption board, supported war activities, and encouraged war-bond drives.

The Old Trail Drivers Association of Texas was organized with Saunders as vice president on February 15, 1915. He was elected president in 1917 and served several years. He is recognized for having the foresight and initiative to be the driving force in publishing *The Trail Drivers of Texas* (1925), a book that has been called the principal source book on cattlemen and cattle drives. He was a member of the Southwestern Cattle Raisers' Association and the Texas Cattle Raisers' Association and contributed objects identified with the range to the Witte Museum. Saunders died on July 3, 1933, at his home in San Antonio; he had had a heart attack a few months earlier. His body lay in state at the municipal auditorium.



# Daniel Webster Wallace



### Martha Earnest and Melvin Sance

Daniel Webster (80 John) Wallace, black rancher, was born near Inez in Victoria County on September 15, 1860, the son of William and Mary (Barker or Barber) Wallace, both slaves. About three months before his birth, his mother had been sold to the O'Daniel family; he grew up with the O'Daniel sons, M. H. and Dial, and remained in close contact with the family all of his life. Tiring of his job chopping cotton near Flatonia, Fayette County, he ran away and joined a cattle drive in 1877. He drove cattle for C. C. Slaughter, Isaac L. Ellwood, Andrew B. Robertson, Sam Gholson, and C. A. "Gus" O'Keefe, and for the Bush and Tillar Cattle Company (see TILLAR, BENJAMIN **JOHNSON**). He worked for **John Nunn**'s N.U.N. cattle outfit on the headwaters of the Brazos River as a wrangler and horse breaker. Wallace had had little formal education, and at age twenty-five he returned to school in Navarro County, was admitted to the second grade, and in two



Daniel Webster Wallace.

winters learned to read and write. He eventually joined Clay Mann's outfit near Colorado City in Mitchell County. It was branding Mann's cattle with a large "80" on one side that gave Wallace his well-known nickname of 80 John. His dream of becoming a rancher was implemented by a plan with Clay Mann, who paid Wallace five dollars a month from his thirty-dollar wage for two years and put the remainder aside to invest in his own herd, for which Mann provided free pasture. This working relationship nurtured a bond of mutual trust and respect which lasted until Mann's death in 1889. Two years later Wallace moved his cattle to about 1,280 acres which he had purchased in 1885 and started ranching for himself southeast of Loraine in Mitchell County. He became one of the most respected black ranchers of his time. His Durham cattle brand was a D triangle; on his Herefords he used a D on the right hip and a running W on one side. Wallace married Laura Dee Owens of Navarro County on April 8, 1888; they had three daughters and a son. Wallace was a member of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle



Raisers Association for thirty years. He died on March 28, 1939, leaving an estate worth more than \$1 million, and was buried on his ranch. A state historical marker in Loraine commemorates his life. A school in Colorado City was named in his honor in the mid-1950s.



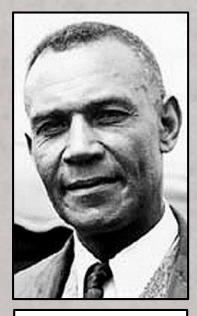
Grave of Daniel Webster Wallace.

### **Mathew Hooks**



### **Nolan Thompson**

Mathew (Bones) Hooks, cowboy and horsebreaker, was born on November 3, 1867, to former slave parents in Robertson County, Texas. At age seven he began work as the driver of a butcher's meat wagon, and at nine he began driving a chuck wagon for Steve Donald, who used the DSD brand. Hooks became one of the first black cowboys to work alongside whites as a ranchhand. He remained with Donald until adulthood and then joined J. R. Norris's ranch on the Pecos River. With Norris he made many trail drives from the Pecos country, raised horses in partnership with a white man, and became a top horsebreaker. Hooks later recounted that cowboys in the Pecos River country kept bringing him wild horses as a challenge, until they finally realized there was none he could not ride.



Mathew Hooks.

Clarendon as a ranchhand in 1886. He later operated a grocery store near Texarkana but after eighteen months returned to Clarendon. While continuing to work as a cowboy, he established one of the first black churches in West Texas. He imported a preacher from Fort Worth and supposedly a congregation as well. He worked as a cowboy at Clarendon until 1900, when he became a porter at an Amarillo hotel. In 1910 he took a job as a porter on the Santa Fe Railroad, where he worked for the next twenty years. It is said that when Hooks was forty-three years old, during the short time of a train's service break, he broke a horse that no one had been able to ride.

He retired from the railroad in 1930 and became a civic worker in Amarillo, where he made his home. He had a particular concern for juvenile delinquency and aided in its prevention by serving as "Range Boss" for the Dogie Club, an organization established for underprivileged black male youths in the city. Hooks also became the first black person to serve on a Potter County grand jury. He gained additional popularity for his presentation of white flowers to the families of recently deceased pioneers and to





Mathew Hooks (far right) attending a Dogie Club Meeting at Pioneer Hall in Amarillo (1934).

others with worthwhile accomplishments. He sent out over 500 single flowers in his lifetime, including one each to Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, one to each of the forty-eight nations present at the 1945 UN conference in San Francisco, and a number to both a unit of WAACs and a unit of WAVEs based in Texas. The white flower also appeared at the dedications of new buildings and churches in Amarillo.

Hooks participated in several pioneer and cowboy associations across the country in his later years, including the Old Settlers associations of Amarillo and Pampa, the Western Cowpunchers Association, the Montana Cowpunchers Association, and the XIT Ranch organization. He was also a charter member of the Panhandle-Plains Historical Society. Hooks attended many pioneer gatherings and gave a number of interviews recounting his memories of the old West. His generosity toward needy friends left him penniless near the end of his life, but when word that he was ill became publicized, friends established a fund for his care. Bones Hooks died in Amarillo on February 2, 1951, at the age of eighty-three.





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